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The Position of Putonghua in Contemporary Hong Kong

Adam Scott Clark

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Declaration

1. I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

2. I confirm that this thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, has
   i) been composed entirely by myself
   ii) been solely the result of my own work
   iii) not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification

3. I declare that this thesis was composed by myself, that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or processional qualification except as specified. The fourth article included in this thesis was published in *Language & Communication, Volume 50, 2016: 42-44.*

Signed: Adam Scott Clark July 28, 2018

Lay Summary

Hong Kong's language policy has been an area of academic interest since the creation of the region as a colony of the United Kingdom in 1843. Both historical and contemporary language policy tells us a great deal about Hong Kong's hierarchy of socioeconomic power and the languages used by those in 'high' and 'low' positions on this hierarchy.

Previous research into language policy in Hong Kong makes note of the ways in which the colonial and postcolonial governments have enacted policies aimed at directing the people of Hong Kong towards specific patterns of language use. Since the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, the role of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong has been an issue of debate, both within the public domain and within the Hong Kong Legislative Council. As the official language of the People's Republic of China, the role of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong requires closer analysis. The ways in which Putonghua is treated in the Legislative Council, in the education system, and in the daily lives of Hong Kong's citizens requires further exploration.

In order to expose the role of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong society, this thesis examines policy and related documents published by both the Hong Kong Legislative Council and other sources.

This thesis comprises four papers in total, three research papers and one review article, that collaboratively shed light on the status of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong.

Abstract

Hong Kong's language policy has come under close scrutiny since the creation of the region as a colony of Great Britain in 1843. Throughout Hong Kong's time as a colony of Great Britain, and post-1997 as a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China, language use and the policy that aims to dictate this use has told us a great deal about Hong Kong's hierarchy of socioeconomic power and the languages used by those in 'high' and 'low' positions on this hierarchy.

Previous research into language policy in Hong Kong makes note of the ways in which the colonial and postcolonial governments have enacted policies aimed at directing the people of Hong Kong towards specific patterns of language use. Since the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, the role of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong has been an issue of debate, both within the public domain and within the Hong Kong Legislative Council. As the official language of the People's Republic of China, the role of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong requires closer analysis. Current policy places Putonghua within a linguistic trichotomy alongside English and Cantonese - the 'three languages' of Hong Kong. The ways in which Putonghua is treated in the Legislative Council, in the education system, and in the daily lives of Hong Kong's citizens requires further exploration.

In order to explore the nature of the role of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong society, this thesis makes use of two complementary methodologies that explore the use of Putonghua in different domains. The first of these methodologies is rooted in the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The second of these methodologies is based on corpus linguistic methods, through the creation of and subsequent analysis of a corpus of job advertisements, and an analysis of the position of Putonghua in these job adverts - its necessity or lack thereof.

This thesis comprises four papers in total, three research papers and one review article, that collaboratively shed light on the status of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong.

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Introduction

This thesis comprises three individual papers that explore the contemporary, ideological position of Putonghua in Hong Kong and one additional review paper that examines the emergence of new approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis in the 'non-West.' Each paper is presented individually along with its own abstract and bibliography, the intention being that each paper is publishable and readable in its own right as a separate research paper. Each paper is also, however, intrinsically linked due to the commonality in the area of investigation - the ideological position of Putonghua in Hong Kong. The three research papers examine three distinct domains of language-use in Hong Kong, these are:

1. Government
2. Employment
3. Education

The first paper critically examines the use of the word 'Chinese' in Hong Kong's Basic Law, Article 9. Though the word 'Chinese' may appear fairly innocuous, this paper demonstrates that this word is entirely unfit for purpose. This paper looks at how Hong Kong's Basic Law undermines Hong Kong's linguistic reality and does not aptly reflect patterns of language use in Hong Kong. There are suggestions made towards the end of this paper as to how Hong Kong's Basic Law might be amended to better suit the linguistic needs of the region and indeed, why any proposed changes to Hong Kong's language policy might be met with resistance. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used in order to examine Hong Kong's Basic Law and supporting documents.

The second paper looks at how the word Putonghua is used in job advertisements in Hong Kong, its placement within job advertisements in relation to Hong Kong's two other primary languages, Cantonese and English, and what the way in which it is referred to in job advertisements tells us about the ideological position of Putonghua within Hong Kong's job market. Corpus linguistic methodologies are used in this investigation.

The third paper that comprises this thesis was inspired by a meeting of the Hong Kong Legislative Council that took place in April, 2015. In this meeting the use of Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language Subject (the subject in which students in Hong Kong develop their linguistic competency in written Modern Standard Chinese and spoken Cantonese) was discussed and Putonghua's position as the "common language of the Han nationality" was used as a possible justifying factor in promoting the use of Putonghua to teach Chinese Language in schools, as opposed to Cantonese, the L1 for the majority of the region's schoolchildren. This paper examines why this link between language and ethnicity is spurious in the case of Hong Kong and why any attempt to promote Putonghua on the basis of national identity in Hong Kong is a cynical attempt at popularizing a 'pan-Chinese' identity in the region.

In addition to the three research papers included in this thesis, I have also included a review article (published in September 2016) on two books published in 2014 and 2016 respectively. These books make the case for a new brand of culturally specific Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) suited to the discourses of the 'non-West'. I discuss in this paper why I feel that these

approaches may be somewhat superficial and discuss in this introduction why I have chosen not to use these 'new approaches' in my own papers.

This introduction discusses some of the seminal literature that underpins the three research papers included in this thesis and also explores why I have selected CDA and corpus linguistics as my methodological approaches. The overarching link between the three papers is also explained and the way in which each paper, in its own way, collaboratively answers the question 'What is the ideological position of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong?' is discussed. The first section of this introduction discusses how language is used across my three research papers and explains why I have chosen certain standards of transliteration for Putonghua and Cantonese and when and how I use Traditional and Simplified Chinese characters.

1 Language Use in this Thesis

1.1 Named Varieties

The official language of the People's Republic of China is referred to as Putonghua (without tone marks) in the three research papers included in this thesis. This variant is commonly known in the West as Mandarin and is referred to as such when quoted by those that prefer this term. Whilst Putonghua is the official variety of the Chinese Language in the People's Republic of China and therefore has some minor differences from what may be considered a more 'unmarked' (not exhibiting features of any geographical region) form of Mandarin, the term 'Mandarin' itself is found to be problematic in that it refers more precisely to a group of related language varieties than to one language variety. The People's Republic of China and the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region use the term Putonghua officially and as such I also use this term throughout each of my papers. The language variety spoken natively in Hong Kong will be referred to as Cantonese, as it is commonly known. All other named varieties are given introduction where appropriate or where ambiguities may arise.

1.2 Chinese Characters

This thesis generally uses Traditional or 'full form' characters (used officially in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau). When language is quoted that originally appeared in Simplified character form, the original Simplified character form is used. Transliterations and English translations are provided for all terms that appear in Chinese. Appendix 1, at the end of this thesis, lists all Chinese terms used in all three research papers in both Traditional and Simplified character forms, as well as transliterated in both *Hanyu Pinyin* and Cantonese *Jyutping*.

1.3 Transliteration

For transliteration of Putonghua, this thesis uses the Basic Rules of the Chinese phonetic alphabet orthography, commonly known as *Hanyu Pinyin* or simply *Pinyin*.[1]

e.g. 中國= Zhōngguó (China)

[1] http://www.moe.gov.cn/ewebeditor/uploadfile/2012/08/21/20120821100233165.pdf (Accessed December 1st, 2017)

For transliteration of Cantonese, The Linguistic Society of Hong Kong Cantonese Romanization Scheme, commonly known as *Jyutping*, is used.[2]

e.g. 中國= zung1 gwok3 (China)

Commonly known proper nouns and names, such as *Deng Xiaoping*, are romanized without tone marks.

1.4 Difference between Modern Standard Chinese and Written Cantonese

Modern Standard Chinese refers to varieties of Mandarin Chinese as it is written in the vernacular. This style of vernacular writing was codified in a style called *báihuà* or *baak6waa6* (白話) in the 1910s. This is in contrast to the traditionally used *wényán wén* or *man4jin4 man4* (文言文) or Literary Chinese used in formal writing prior to the 1910s. Chen notes, however, that the *báihuà* used in early 20th century China is quite different to the Modern Standard Chinese used today. *Báihuà* was originally based on *Jiang-Huai Mandarin* (1999: 82) and not on the Northern Mandarin that closely resembles Modern Standard Chinese today.

Modern Standard Chinese is essentially the formalized, written variant of Putonghua - the label 'Modern Standard Chinese' is useful in that it distinguishes itself from any other variant of written Chinese, be that written Cantonese, written Hakka or Classical Chinese, etc.

Whilst Modern Standard Chinese as a written language is almost one and the same as that of spoken Putonghua, the term Modern Standard Chinese is used when referring to the written language explicitly in order to acknowledge the differences found between the spoken and written languages.

Where appropriate, this thesis includes examples of written, 'colloquial' Cantonese - this will be marked as such to avoid confusion with written Modern Standard Chinese, which will not be marked. This is done with the assumption that more readers are more familiar with Modern Standard Chinese than written Cantonese and is not an attempt to mark Cantonese as a 'non-standard' variant.

2 Literature Review

The next section of this introduction examines some of the literature pertinent to the research areas that the included research papers cover. The literature discussed in this introduction can be considered supplementary to the literature reviews of the three papers. The literature discussed here looks at issues that, whilst related to the subject matter of this thesis, do not necessarily find a place within the individual literature reviews of the three papers. Nevertheless, the literature that is explored in the following section is of great theoretical importance in forming an underpinning for the three research papers that follow this introductory section.

[2]http://www.lshk.org/node/31 (Accessed December 1st, 2017)

2.1 Language Policy & Planning

Language policy and planning presents itself in many different forms in all societies. Are language policy and planning the result of the rational and systematic processes created by an individual or group of individuals, or is it something broader? Is it possible that language policy and planning can be considered a product of the socio-cultural and socio-historical contexts of a given society? This thesis argues that language policy and planning is not simply the systematic processes by which language is maintained and governed, but rather, that language policy and planning is both a consequence and a reflection of the socio-historical structures of any given society, in the case of the present work, of Hong Kong.

The connection between 'language policy' and 'language planning' is an obvious, yet complex one. The two are grouped together, for good reason, and commonly abbreviated as LPP. Hornberger (2005) notes that the designation, 'LPP', is:

> ...useful not just as a reminder of how inextricably related language planning and language policy are (and in recognition of the important role of each) but also as a way around the lack of agreement on the exact nature of that relationship. Does planning subsume policy...or policy subsume planning...? Is policy the output of planning? (Hornberger, 2005: 25)

In line with Hornberger, this thesis argues that language policy and language planning henceforth referred to collectively as LPP, can both in fact be by-products of one another. Just as language planning can create language policies, language policies too can theoretically lead to the creation of language planning activities.

In its simplest form, LPP can be considered planned, human interventions that are intended to restrict, monitor, or shape language use. Language policies are generally (but not only) enacted in multi-lingual societies and necessarily suggest the political and economic power of specific groups based on the languages they use and how these languages are governed by policy. Spolsky (2004) identifies three interrelated yet independently describable components of language policy - practices (implicit policies), beliefs (values ascribed to certain languages or varieties) and management (explicit policies). Chavan (2014: 48) describes language policy and planning as:

> ...those situations in which governments intervene in and attempt to control the communication system itself; those in which language factors intervene in and thus affect the processes of government and politics; and those in which language and politics are in mutual interaction, feeding back one another.

Weinstein (1980: 56) similarly describes language policy as "a government authorized, long-term, sustained, and conscious effort to alter a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems." Both of these descriptions of language policy stem from the assumption that language policy can only, or at least, usually only be enacted by a national or regional government. However it is perhaps useful to broaden the scope of language policy and planning to include non-governmental actors or agents. As Spolsky suggested in 2004, language policy can be enacted within various interrelated and often co-dependent domains of society, such as:

- Educational authorities (schools, universities, etc.)
- Religious institutions (the Catholic Church and its use of Latin for example)
- Corporations ('office language policies')
- The media (newspapers, broadcasters, newsreaders, etc.)
- Political groups (activists for linguistic rights, pressure groups, etc.)
- Dictionary-makers (the acceptance of 'new slang words' etc.)
- Authors (popularising written work in the vernacular)

Coulmas (2005) notes that a majority of the world's countries have language policies written into their constitutions, and those few that don't, tend to be smaller or mostly monolingual. Van Herk (2012), drawing on Cobarrubias (1983), identifies four typical ideologies of language planning as follows:

1. Linguistic assimilation - "everyone should speak the same, dominant language"
2. Linguistic pluralism - "more than one language should be recognized and protected by law"
3. Vernacularization - "the weaker, often (but not always) indigenous language should be made official, and promoted"
4. Internationalization - "a non-indigenous language should be encouraged, particularly in highly multilingual languages where an 'other' or even formerly colonial language may be viewed as more neutral."

2.1.1 LPP in Hong Kong

The LPP practices of the People's Republic of China are interesting in that, the PRC overwhelmingly leans towards *linguistic assimilation* as its LPP of choice, however due to the unique nature of the Special Administrative Region (SAR) system, Hong Kong and Macau retain their own official languages and daily use of the national standard, Putonghua, is not particularly widespread.[3]

Hong Kong's language policy has been brought to the attention of sociolinguists since the creation of the region as a colony of Great Britain in 1843. The contemporary Hong Kong identity was formed mostly during a period in which Hong Kong was largely estranged from Mainland China and as such the situation regarding language use and language policy in Hong Kong is markedly different from that of the mainland (Simpson, 2007). Despite Hong Kong having two official or co-official languages, English and 'Chinese', the Hong Kong identity is arguably a Cantonese dominated one. The use of English in Hong Kong has historically been seen as a tool for socioeconomic advancement and not as an inherent feature of the Hong Kong

[3]The PRC's *Autonomous Regions*, not to be confused with the *Special Administrative Region* system, to which both Macau and Hong Kong belong, also maintain use of their own local languages, alongside Putonghua. The *Autonomous Regions* are Guangxi, Inner Mongolia, Tibet, Xinjiang, and Ningxia. All of these regions have their own 'local languages' spoken by the 'minority ethnicity' that inhabit each region. The Ningxia Autonomous Region, inhabiated by Hui Chinese, use Lanyin Mandarin and Zhongyuan Mandarin, however.

identity. This has changed somewhat following the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, with the English language being instrumentalized in the construction of a Hong Kong identity separate to that of those from Mainland China (Chan, 2002).

The status of Putonghua in Hong Kong is complicated further in that as the standard variety of the 'Chinese language' in the PRC, natively spoken in Northern China, it is not commonly spoken in Hong Kong as a native language and its inclusion as a core subject in Hong Kong's education system is a relatively recent innovation.

The Hong Kong identity that was solidified during the British administration can be said to be one that was inherently Western influenced, urban, and strongly engaged in finance (Simpson, 2007: 170). The political turmoil of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1971) and the relative poverty of Mainland China engendered a Hong Kong identity that was removed from the development of the modern Chinese nation and as such firmly 'Hong Kongese' in nature. This identity was very much centred on Cantonese. Cantonese is the language of expression in Hong Kong in almost all forms of popular entertainment and of social interaction. Furthermore, Cantonese is the majority language of daily use and can be heard in almost any domain, whether business, government, or education. According to the 2011 Hong Kong Census, 89.52% of the population used Cantonese as their usual daily language. Comparatively only 1.39% of those surveyed answered that they used Putonghua as their daily language, and 3.5% answered with English.

In spite of the freedoms promised by the *Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China* (henceforth referred as to Basic Law), since the transfer of sovereignty to the PRC in 1997 there has been a concern that the role of Cantonese in Hong Kong would be diminished as it has been in Guangdong Province, a Cantonese-speaking region in which neither the language of government nor education is Cantonese. In Guangdong Province, it is instead Putonghua, the national language, which is used in all official domains. This topic has been a concurrent issue in popular discourse on Hong Kong language policy from the time of the Sino-British Joint Declaration (1984) onwards.

Studies and commentaries on Hong Kong's language policy have been a constant feature of the academic discourse related to Hong Kong since the beginning of Britain's colonial administration. Serious sociolinguistic studies however did not begin to emerge until the 1980s and it is from this time onwards that the current study will analyze previous researchers' work on Hong Kong in order to create an overview of the current state of research on language policy in Hong Kong and be able to synthesize previous research in a thorough and logical manner. The next section looks specifically at how the English language was treated in colonial policy, which puts into context the contemporary situation of Hong Kong's language policy. The English language in Hong Kong and indeed, early colonial policy, is not dealt with in detail within the three research papers included in this thesis (and this is not within the scope of this thesis) and so this section adds additional background information pertinent to the theme of this thesis.

2.2 The English Language in Colonial Hong Kong

In order to correctly frame the contemporary situation in Hong Kong with regards to the relationship between Hong Kong's three 'primary languages', it is important to first consider the establishment of English as the language of power in Hong Kong and how this was brought about by the early colonial administration. The establishment of English as a language of power in

Hong Kong is useful in a comparative analysis of the emergent status of Putonghua, another language that, although linguistically related to Cantonese, is nonetheless a second or 'other' language for the majority of the population.

In his 1997 article on linguistic imperialism, Boyle discusses whether the "charge of linguistic imperialism can be appropriately leveled against the British government over the period of its colonial rule in Hong Kong" (1997: 169). Boyle notes that in 1997 there was the increasing concern that English, as a communicative language marketed as 'useful in trade and commerce', had impinged upon the linguistic freedoms of colonial and post-colonial societies by making English not only 'useful', but entirely necessary for socio-economic advancement. The position of English in colonial Hong Kong was unquestionably that of a prestige language. Its necessity in education and the workplace solidified contemporary attitudes towards language and indeed directly influenced the positioning of Hong Kong's three primary competing languages at present. One of the main aims of Boyle's article is to assess whether or not English could be described as a "weapon for cultural and economic domination" in colonial Hong Kong, and whether or not this 'weapon' had been created intentionally or not (Boyle, 1997: 169). Boyle's work is of importance in the current study in that it examines not only the development of English as an elite language in colonial Hong Kong, but also examines the notion of culpability in the establishment of inequality based on language use.

The early colonial period in Hong Kong marks a time in which traditional colonial values were imposed upon Hong Kong by the British colonial administration, much as they had been in other territories of the British Empire. Pennycook notes that imperialists such as Thomas DeQuincey felt that the English language would "fulfill its destined role, 'running towards its ultimate mission of eating up, like Aaron's rod, all other languages' (Pennycook, 1994: 73)". The traditional colonial values referenced above are, in brief, the belief that as an empire, Britain had the right to expand both its territories and influence, through both land gain and the spread of British culture, ergo, the English language. Boyle quotes Phillipson (1992) who in turn quotes Ansre (1979) in his definition of linguistic imperialism:

> ...as any situation in which the speakers of a language are dominated by another language 'to the point where they believe they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life such as education, philosophy, literature, government, the administration of justice etc.' (Ansre 1979: 12-13). (1997: 170).

This reliance on English for communication in formal, 'non-mundane' domains was therefore established early on in the colonial period and has, as will be discussed in further detail, arguably persisted up until the present day - albeit perhaps less obviously so, with official policy placing English and 'Chinese' on par in the Official Languages Ordinance of 1974.

Boyle notes Braj Kachru's contributions to the study of linguistic imperialism "labelling ESL (English as a second language) as the 'other tongue'" (1997: 171). Kachru describes how the 'imperial centre' exerts control over the colonized through various different methodologies, ranging from the most extreme displacement of the native language, to the introduction of the colonial language as the language of power, relegating the status of the indigenous language to a lower level communicative language for more 'mundane' transactions. Kachru envisions the diffusion of English specifically in terms of "three concentric circles" (Kachru, 1991: 178) - the

Inner Circle, which includes L1 varieties such as speakers of British and American English, the Outer Circle, which includes institutionalized L2 varieties of English and the Expanding Circle, which includes English as a Foreign Language (EFL) varieties. Much of Kachru's work focuses on the Outer Circle - non-native Englishes that are institutionalized at a governmental level and that are used in multicultural and inter-ethnic transactions.

Boyle uses aspects of Kachru's theory of linguistic imperialism combined with that of Galtung's (1971) theories, which examine inequality and the resistance of inequality to change, to improve general understanding of linguistic imperialism and to identify the notions of *Compulsion, Manipulation and Covert Control* in describing "the different aspects and stages of the complex notion of linguistic imperialism" (1997: 172). Boyle uses these notions to go on to discuss the development and maintenance of the English language in Hong Kong.

One of the key ways in which language can be afforded status in society is by its use in the education system of a region. The earliest English-medium schools in Hong Kong were those established and run by Christian missionary groups. Therefore the earliest colonial schools established in Hong Kong were not established on the basis of spreading the English language, but rather on the basis of spreading the Christian faith. By 1854 however, Christian instruction had been made voluntary in schools and the focus was instead placed on educational attainment. English medium instruction was officially encouraged by the colonial regime in order to act as "a bond of union" between the local Chinese and colonial population (Boyle, 1997: 172). It was established early on that the expatriate population should not be expected to learn Cantonese, but rather, as is the case in most colonial regions, that the colonized should learn the language of their colonizers. Parallels can be drawn between this "bond of union" that English supposedly provided and the reportedly unifying nature of Putonghua as the common language of the various ethnicities of the People's Republic of China. The concept of Putonghua as a 'pan-Chinese' language is explored in detail in the third research paper included in this thesis.

Boyle analyses whether or not, based on his findings, the charge of linguistic imperialism can be made against the British in colonial Hong Kong. One of the first things noted by Boyle in his analysis, is the notion that, whether or not Hong Kong Chinese felt they were being "culturally compromised" or not, they have always wanted English (Boyle, 1997: 176), despite the importance generally attached to education in the L1 (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). This claim is backed up by surveys undertaken by Littlewood and Liu in 1996 and Pennington and Yue in 1994. Boyle notes that:

> Hong Kong Chinese have always seen the English language very pragmatically - as a means of doing better business...those with English quickly felt a sense of superiority over others. In other words, though there was no compulsion to learn English (education was voluntary), the commercial usefulness and the social prestige of the English language made it a highly desirable commodity. (1997: 177)

It must be questioned here however if the above is not in fact an example of linguistic imperialism and indeed compulsion, and if not, why not? The very fact that the English language came to be viewed pragmatically demonstrates the position that the language had in colonial Hong Kong - English had enough uses that it was not only a means to doing better business, but was in fact the only way to do business with the colonial regime. The social prestige described above obviously indicates that English was viewed as a marker of high social standing; high

social standing quite clearly being something that one generally aspires to possess. Therefore, it is indeed fair to say that the people of Hong Kong were not directly forced to learn English, this much is quite clear - they were however compelled to learn English if they wished to advance in either education, or in business. Without English, one could not expect to attend The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong's only tertiary level institution until 1963. Furthermore, without English, one could not expect to be employed in high-level positions in government, nor in business.

Lin (1999) points out that access, or lack of access, to English has a great affect on the social mobility of non-native speakers of English. Linguistic acquisition in childhood may ultimately go on to effect subsequent socioeconomic mobility. Lin also postulates that many student-learners of English may "hold an ambivalent, want-hate relationship with English and the classroom becomes a site for students' struggles and oppositional practices which, however, often lead students to participate in their own domination..." (Lin, 1999: 393). The English-language classroom may in fact be a useful metaphor for describing the overall attitude towards English in Hong Kong (Pennycook, 1994). The 'want-hate' relationship with English exists not only in the classroom, but also perhaps in all layers of society. This thesis argues that the identity-building nature of the English language classroom, in postcolonial regions where English is taught as a second language is not restricted to the classroom, but rather is symptomatic of a society wherein English is a marker of identity in itself, part of but not exclusive to the classroom. At one time, English may have been a remnant and indeed a reminder of Hong Kong's colonial past, however English is arguably now in fact a distinguishing characteristic of Hong Kong - one that Hong Kongers use to distinguish themselves from other regions of the People's Republic of China. The use of English in Hong Kong, this thesis would argue, in fact gives Hong Kongers access to an identity that is otherwise not readily available to other citizens of the PRC. English acquisition is commonplace throughout China (Wright and Zheng, 2016) - however 'ownership' of English is arguably something more accessible, identifiable, and perhaps even more possible in Hong Kong - English is an official language, the region has a long (ish) history of English-use (though not always widespread use) and the English-medium is well established; in education, in print and in government (see Widdowson; 1994, Higgins; 2003 and Parmegiani; 2014 for more on ownership of English).

In colonial Hong Kong, English was very much a necessity for gaining position within the upper layers of Hong Kong society. Thus, the compulsion to acquire English was perhaps not one of visible subversion but rather of 'passive compulsion' - Hong Kongers did not need to acquire English, but without it they could not hope to ascend the structures of colonial society. It is thus perhaps for this very reason that the form of linguistic imperialism that took hold of Hong Kong for over century has been difficult to dispel in contemporary Hong Kong.

The mostly solidified status of the English language in Hong Kong thus has implications for the status of Putonghua in Hong Kong. Prior to 1997, the positions of English and Cantonese in Hong Kong were mostly defined within specific domains - English for government, high-level business transactions and tertiary education, and Cantonese for the home, cultural expression, and the earlier years of schooling. The addition of Putonghua to Hong Kong's language policy creates a situation wherein the position of Putonghua within specific domains in Hong Kong requires clearer articulation in order to accurately describe the linguistic situation in Hong

Kong in terms of language-power balance. The first research paper in this thesis looks at how Putonghua is not adequately dealt with in Hong Kong's codified language policy and the third research paper looks at how Putonghua is dealt with in Hong Kong's contemporary language-in-education policy.

2.3 Linguistic Surveying in Hong Kong

The papers in this thesis employ Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistic methodologies as their investigative method and the data used is documentary - policy documents, job advertisements and curricula guidelines. An ethnographic research methodology - interviewing, surveying, etc. - is therefore not used within this thesis. Ethnographic information, collected primarily through surveying, is however important to the aims of the research included in this thesis and ethnographic research is referenced frequently throughout each paper as background information that informs each individual study and this thesis as a whole. This thesis chose not to use participant informed data collection as a methodological approach as a large scale survey on language use in Hong Kong had been completed during the writing process of this thesis. It was therefore felt that this thesis's contribution would be greater if a different methodological approach was taken. The below section therefore looks more closely at linguistic surveying in Hong Kong and offers background information pertinent to the three research papers included in this thesis.

With a definitive move towards a recognition for the importance of first-hand data collection in sociolinguistic studies in the 1980s, Bolton and Luke began to collect data in Hong Kong in 1982 with the aim of answering hitherto unanswered questions in relation to language use in Hong Kong.

As a preamble to the publication of their survey, Bolton and Luke published a paper in 1985 giving a background to their research and their methodological considerations. This paper is of importance in this thesis in that the methodological questions posed by Bolton and Luke served to influence future studies in this area and thus have an influence on the development of sociolinguistic research in Hong Kong as a whole. It is noted that prior to Bolton and Luke's research, most studies on language use in Hong Kong concentrated on areas "closely linked to education" and as a result these studies had "limited their scope to issues primarily linked to education" (1985: 43). Bolton and Luke's study is thus a useful starting point for further research into the emergence of Hong Kong's contemporary language policy in that it diverges from the traditional, education-focused approach employed by other researchers in this time period. Bolton and Luke note that:

> Other wider areas of study, linked to important issues such as language use, patterns of bilingualism and language choice, the spread of English as a functional variety, language maintenance and language shift, the importance of English in major societal domains, the use of Cantonese and other dialects, variation in Cantonese...have yet to be tackled in a decisive and definitive way. (1985: 43)

These other important areas of sociolinguistic research have since been given a certain degree of attention by sociolinguists; however a fully synthesized study of the position of Putonghua in

contemporary Hong Kong is lacking in the current literature. The present work aims to redress this through an analysis of the emergent role that Putonghua plays in contemporary Hong Kong.

Bolton and Luke's sociolinguistic survey was carried out in three 'broad' stages and covered the following areas:

1. A series of quantitative sociolinguistic surveys using questionnaires and interviews;
2. An 'English in use' study based on a series of occupationally specific ethnographic investigations of the use of English;
3. A 'Chinese in use' study parallel to the 'English in use' study.

(Adapted from Bolton and Luke, 1985: 43)

Bolton and Luke envisioned their sociolinguistic survey as a long-term project that would last initially from four to six years and involve the assistance of a research team as well as contact with private institutions and the general public (1985: 43). A collaborative approach was proposed in the formation of their sociolinguistic survey - combining a 'language census' with more objective "nonreactive" (1985: 44) methods in order to complete an accurate survey of language and society in Hong Kong.

The study was placed within the field of 'sociology of language', an area of linguistic study considered a field in it's own right by proponents of Joshua Fishman's theoretical framework established in the 1970s. This framework is used in the analysis of 'macro-sociolinguistic patterns' (Bolton and Luke, 1985: 45). Bolton and Luke draw on Fishman's summative approach in order to:

> ...deal with notions of generality which are important in the analysis of large-scale patterns of language behavior such as are generated by language survey work. These may include such elemental concepts as 'languages', 'dialects,' and 'varieties', speech acts and events; higher-order constructs such as role relationships, social situations, networks, domains and value clusters and the classificatory as well as descriptive framework provided by 'diglossia' and 'bilingualism' (1985: 45)

Since the publication and development of Fishman's original framework in 1968 much has been written about the 'Fishmanian approach' and while Fishman retains his position as an important and ground breaking sociolinguist, his theoretical framework is one that is perhaps anchored in the time period in which it was written.

One can find much relevance in Fishman's framework, as Bolton and Luke did. However, it is important to take into consideration the overall changes in society and the effects of globalization since the publication of Fishman's original framework and indeed the new sociolinguistic frameworks (Milroy, 1980; Breitborde, 1983) that have helped to update and reconsider the sociolinguistic realities that need to be dealt with in order to create a complete study of the linguistic situation in any given society. The most important of Fishman's theories that influenced Bolton and Luke's 1985 research is the idea of 'domains' of language use. Language use in Hong Kong is very much influenced by domain, traditionally English for commerce and higher education and Cantonese for the home and for primary education. As well as the macro-sociolinguistic concepts

dealt with by Fishman, Bolton and Luke also consider more 'individual-based' approaches, such as those promoted by Le Page (1968):

> Le Page sees the individual as the sole locus of linguistic activity and the individual's use of language as 'acts of identity', as he or she bids for membership in different social groups. Such an individual-based view of language, we would argue, is surely complementary (rather than hostile) to a society-based one such as Fishman's, whose prime concern is with relating regularities of language choice to 'widespread sociocultural norms and expectations' (1985: 45)

In summary, Bolton and Luke placed their methodology within Fishman's theory of 'sociology of language' however reserved the right to 'adapt and shift' their methodology as their research progressed. This adaption and re-shaping of pre-existing sociolinguistic theories serves as an important inspiration for this thesis and has allowed this thesis to adapt pre-existing theories on language use for its own specific purposes.

In order to focus their study and apply their earlier methodological considerations, Bolton and Luke pose four general questions (1985:46):

1. How many language and dialect groups are there in Hong Kong and what are their characteristics?
2. How many people are 'bilingual' in English and Chinese, to what extent, and in which ways?
3. How many people really use or really need English at work, and for what specific purposes?
4. What attitudes are shown by speakers of certain languages and dialects to other languages and dialects, and what are the implications of these 'language attitudes' for language learning and teaching in Hong Kong?

Of these four questions, the first has now been tackled quite frequently in various studies since the publication of Bolton and Luke's 1985 study and will be given less attention in this thesis than the other three questions, which are of more substantial relevance in the current work. Question two, on the subject of English-Chinese bilingualism in Hong Kong, is perhaps a difficult question to truly find an answer to as respondents' own self-assessment may not reflect the realities of what is expected, if there is such an expectation, of a bilingual speaker. It is interesting, and perhaps evidential of the time period in which this study was published, that Bolton and Luke do not pose a separate question for Putonghua proficiency. The final report of this study, published in 2015 with Bacon-Shone, adds questions relating to Putonghua proficiency and is discussed below.

Bolton and Luke, along with Bacon-Shone published a paper entitled Language Use, Proficiency and Attitudes in Hong Kong in August 2015, which builds on the previous sociolinguistic surveying work carried out carried out in 1983, 1993 and 2003. This study updates previous studies with information on self-reported proficiencies in spoken Putonghua and written Simplified Chinese characters. The Executive Summary (2015: 7) of this paper indicates that:

- Cantonese remains the "key language for oral communication in many settings in Hong Kong";

- Evidence suggests that Hong Kong is becoming **increasingly trilingual**;
- English remains an important language for workplace communication, particularly written communication.

(Adapted from Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 7, emphasis added)

The same summary additionally makes the following policy recommendations:

- The Hong Kong Legislative Council should continue to promote the policy of trilingualism and biliteracy, in order to strengthen links with the Mainland through the promotion of Putonghua, maintain links with the "rest of the world" through the use of English, and promote the "social and cultural benefits" of Cantonese;
- The Legislative Council should "consider ways in which high-level proficiency in both oral and written English and **simplified written Chinese** might be more effectively promoted through Hong Kong's education system;
- The Legislative Council **consider framing 'biliteracy' to encompass literacy in both traditional and simplified Chinese characters, with the implication that Simplified characters are important for national communication** but there are currently relatively low levels of proficiency at present, while Traditional characters remain essential to preservation of Hong Kong culture.

(Adapted from Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 7, emphasis added)

Bacon-Shone et al. provide information on survey respondents' knowledge and use of spoken languages at different times and in different domains of use (2015: 16). These results are summarized and discussed below. For the purpose of this thesis, only the figures for Cantonese, English and Putonghua are provided here:[4]

Table 1: Knowledge and use of spoken languages by percentage (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 16)

Language	Mother Tongue	Before School	Now	Family Members	Domestic Helpers	Friends	Work Colleagues	Work Clients
Cantonese	89.1%	83.2%	99.6%	97.4%	52.9%	98.2%	97.3%	94.3%
Putonghua	4.7%	14.0%	68.0%	6.6%	3.4%	14.4%	15.0%	37.8%
English	0.6%	9.5%	62.2%	10.9%	61.8%	21.9%	33.2%	48.1%

It is clear that Cantonese remains the dominant language in Hong Kong, as the native language of the majority of the population and the language used most frequently in all of the domains given above (apart from the use of English with 'domestic helpers'). It is perhaps unsurprising that Putonghua proficiency increases following education, though its use remains primarily confined to the education and employment domains, with just over one third of respondents using Putonghua with work clients, though only 15% with fellow colleagues. Curiously, there is a discrepancy between mother-tongue knowledge *before* and *after* school. Bacon-Shone et al. explain this as follows:

[4]Full figures for all of the languages included in Bacon-Shone et al.'s survey can be found in the original publication, listed in the bibliography.

> The intrinsic indeterminacy of the term 'mother tongue', combined with its ideological load, go some way towards explaining the divergence in the results between 'Mother tongue' and 'Before school'...For example, a total of 89.1% of the population claimed Cantonese as their 'mother tongue', but only 83.2% reported knowing the language 'before school'. Conversely, 4.7% claimed Putonghua as a mother tongue, yet a total of 14% reported knowing the language before school, a result taken together with that for Cantonese, which might suggest differential levels of language loyalty associated with the two varieties of Chinese. For their part, the results for English showed that only 0.6% of the sample identified English as a mother tongue, although 9.5% reported knowing the language before going to school. (2015: 19)[5]

In order to avoid issues inherent in potentially emotionally laden expressions such as 'mother tongue', this thesis will in general avoid using such a term and instead use L1, unless the expression 'mother tongue' is being quoted in official sources, as it is the preferred expression of the Hong Kong Legislative Council.

In a break away from previous surveys, the 2015 survey also asked respondents on their use of written language, including Simplified Chinese characters. Responses are provided below:

Table 2: Use of written languages at work for different purposes (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 21)

Written Language	Internal Work Writing	External Work Writing	Reading at Work
Traditional Chinese	65.4%	70.0%	77.8%
Simplified Chinese	11.2%	15.9%	20.7%
English	85.8%	85.5%	86.9%

The use of Simplified Chinese characters in the workplace is therefore demonstrably quite low, with the highest percentage of use being for reading. Returning to Bacon-Shone et al.'s *Executive Summary* for this report, it is therefore curious as to why the report recommends that the government should increase emphasis on the acquisition of Simplified Chinese characters within the Hong Kong education system. The Republic of China (Taiwan), Macau, Hong Kong and much of the Chinese diaspora have persisted in the use of Traditional Chinese characters despite the use of Simplified characters in Mainland China and Singapore. Furthermore, communication difficulties as a result of the use of traditional characters in Hong Kong are not a well-attested issue in the current literature. Understandably, the fact that Mainland China and the Hong Kong SAR make use of different written standards presents some hurdles in communication, however this issue is easily remedied with modern technologies that allow seamless 'translation' from simplified to traditional character sets. This thesis would argue that adding Simplified Characters to the Hong Kong curriculum, whilst not particularly taxing for the average student, would overall add to the already heavily language laden curriculum, tasking students with acquiring, as standard:

- Spoken Cantonese
- Spoken English

[5]It is also quite possible that the inherent ambiguity of the term 'before school' accounts for the somewhat surprising results. Does one really *know* their first language before being formally schooled in it, for instance?

- Spoken Putonghua
- Written Modern Standard Chinese
  - Traditional Chinese Characters
  - Simplified Chinese Characters
- Written English

As the above (minus Simplified Characters) already appear on the core curriculum, adding Simplified Characters to this curriculum would perhaps be an unnecessary burden. Hong Kong schools' language curriculum is discussed more in depth in the third research paper included in this thesis.

Bacon-Shone et al. additionally asked survey respondents to gauge their proficiencies in Cantonese, Putonghua, English, Written Traditional Chinese, Written Simplified Chinese and Written English. Their results are summarized as follows:

Table 3: Self-reported proficiencies for how well one can use Oral Cantonese, Putonghua, English, Written Traditional Chinese, Written Simplified Chinese & Written English (Adapted from Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 22)

Proficiency	Oral Cantonese	Oral Putonghua	Oral English	Written Traditional Chinese	Written Simplified Chinese	Written English
Not at all	0.2%	10.6%	20.8%	4.1%	25.3%	22.4%
A few sentences	0.6%	12.6%	12.5%	2.7%	10.7%	9.8%
A little	7.1%	31.1%	25.1%	14.8%	32.4%	21.9%
Quite well	26.7%	26.8%	24.7%	28.2%	18.2%	25.4%
Well	19.4%	12.6%	12.7%	21.1%	8.1%	14.4%
Very well	46.0%	6.3%	4.2%	29.0%	5.3%	6.2%

From the above table we can summarize that 92.1% of respondents rate their competency in Oral Cantonese as Quite well or above, 45.7% for Putonghua and 41.6% for English. In terms of written language, 78.3% of respondents reported Quite well or above proficiency in Written Traditional Chinese, 31.6% for Written Simplified Chinese and 46% for Written English. The gap in proficiency between written and spoken languages is interesting in that one might assume if 92.1% of the population rates their competency in Oral Cantonese Quite well or above, then competency in Written Chinese would be similar. This divergence in results between spoken and written languages can perhaps be explained by the differences between spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese - Modern Standard Chinese being based on the spoken language of Northern China (Mandarin varieties), not Cantonese. Furthermore, if one is asked to rate their own competency, there is a chance that one might underestimate their own ability in written language - due to the perceived difficulty of written language when compared to spoken language. The fact that only 31.6% of respondents rate their competency in Written Simplified Chinese as Quite Well or above is notable in that it is almost 15% lower than the same result for English. This is likely as a result of lack of exposure to Simplified Chinese; however it equally could be due to motivational factors - there is no particular 'need' to learn simplified characters for life in Hong Kong.

This survey also asks respondents their views with regards to tuition in Chinese language and literature, and whether or not it should be in Cantonese or Putonghua:

Table 4: Chinese language and literature should be taught in Cantonese, Putonghua or both (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 25)

Language taught in	Percentages
Cantonese	30.5%
Putonghua	8.4%
Both	61.1%

The above demonstrates the belief that Putonghua *is* of importance to those surveyed, however it should not replace Cantonese as the medium of instruction, even if only for the Chinese language and literature subject, with only 8.4% of respondents believing that Putonghua should be the sole language of instruction.

Perhaps the most pertinent data from this study, with regards to this thesis, is on language attitudes in Hong Kong. Respondents were asked to rate their attitudes towards Cantonese, English and Putonghua over four areas as below:

Table 5: The perceived status of Hong Kong's three major languages (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 25)

Language	Most Modern Language in Society	First Language of Business	First Language of Culture	First Language of Hong Kong Society in the Future
Putonghua	9.6%	17.3%	6.5%	26.5%
Cantonese	69.3%	23.6%	81.4%	57.6%
English	16.1%	50.1%	7.6%	10.8%
Don't know	4.9%	9.0%	4.4%	5.0%

It is noteworthy here that just over a quarter of those surveyed feel that Putonghua will be the first language of Hong Kong society in the future, with close to 60% feeling that Cantonese will remain the first language of Hong Kong. The divergence in attitudes with regards to the 'most modern language in Hong Kong society' at present and the 'future first language of Hong Kong' is revealing in that it indicates a belief that whilst Cantonese is currently Hong Kong's first language, this is not a guaranteed position. Somewhat unsurprisingly, English is considered by just over half of respondents as the first language of business in Hong Kong. The position of Putonghua, and indeed English, in the domain of employment is discussed further in the second research paper included in this thesis.

Bacon-Shone et al. also posed two further questions related to language attitudes in Hong Kong, shown in Tables 6 and 7 respectively:

Table 6: How seriously endangered is Cantonese at present? (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 27)

Level	Percentages
Not at all	23.1%
A little	31.8%
Moderately	30.1%
A lot	11.7%
Critically	3.4%

From the above, 54.9% of respondents believe that Cantonese is only a little or less endangered - with almost a quarter believing that Cantonese is not endangered at all. Conversely, 45.2% of respondents believe that Cantonese is moderately or more endangered. If the number of those respondents who do not believe Cantonese is endangered at all is excluded, then 77% of respondents therefore believe that Cantonese is at least a little endangered. Bacon-Shone et al. additionally asked respondents if it would be acceptable for the next Chief Executive of Hong Kong to speak Putonghua, but not Cantonese:

Table 7: Acceptable if next Chief Executive speaks Putonghua but not Cantonese (Bacon-Shone et al. 2015: 27)

Response	Percentages
Yes	17.3%
No	82.7%

The above is remarkable in that whilst just over a quarter of respondents believe that Putonghua will be the future first language of Hong Kong, the majority of respondents believe that it would be unacceptable for the Chief Executive of Hong Kong to speak Putonghua, but be unable to speak Cantonese. It can be assumed that whilst some may believe that Putonghua is the future language of Hong Kong, fewer believe it should ever be the sole language of the Legislative Council.

Bacon-Shone et al.'s 2015 report is of great use to the current work in that it frames the current issues of language and identity in Hong Kong in a contemporary setting and takes into account the great changes in Hong Kong's linguistic landscape since Bacon-Shone et al.'s earlier works on the same topic. Bacon-Shone et al.'s 2015 report is made reference to regularly throughout the three research papers included in this thesis.

2.4 The Medium of Instruction Dilemma

Following the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984, the issue of Chinese-medium education became a more immediate and pressing issue than it had been in previous years. Although the status of Chinese-medium education had been an issue since early colonial days in Hong Kong, not a great deal had been done in terms of ensuring the fair and equal distribution of English and Chinese-medium education and the colonial administration adopted a laissez-faire stance towards this issue - much as the British government had traditionally done in terms of educational matters in the United Kingdom with regards to education for the 'working class' (Smesler, 1991: 9). Medium of education policy in Hong Kong has long been somewhat of a paradox in that whilst education through the medium of the L1 is argued to be the pedagogically most beneficial form of education for students (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, 2008), and while many minority groups in many different regions of the world have campaigned for the use of their indigenous language in their education systems, many people in Hong Kong have been in favour of maintaining the late-immersion style[6] English-medium education offered by secondary schools in Hong Kong.

[6]In late immersion language programmes students begin being taught in their second language from around age eleven (Cervantes-Soon, 2014).

The report entitled 'A Perspective on Education in Hong Kong' published in 1982, commonly referred to as the 'Llewellyn Report' after the chief investigator of the report, John Llewellyn, definitively recommended that Hong Kong schools teach primarily in the L1, with English being taught as the first foreign language:

> We favour a shift towards the universal use of the mother tongue in the formative years accompanied by the formal teaching of English as a first foreign language; this would lead progressively to genuine bilingualism in the senior secondary years. (A Report on Education in Hong Kong, 1982: 111)

Regardless of this however, Hong Kong persisted with a system of late immersion English education well into the late 1990s. As will be discussed below, the reasons for this are undoubtedly to be found in the lower prestige afforded to Chinese-medium schools, and the socioeconomic status of English in Hong Kong. The *Llewellyn Report* is discussed in detail in the third paper included in this thesis.

Skutnabb-Kangas postulated in a 2009 presentation that parents *want* English-medium instruction for children and that this is spurred on by the belief that English proficiency will lead to better employment opportunities and ultimately a better future. The status that English has been afforded in Hong Kong and indeed worldwide is a result of the United Kingdom's colonial enterprises in the 19th and 20th centuries, and at present as a result of the unbalanced socioeconomic power that predominantly Anglophone nations have - namely the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Skutnabb-Kangas also makes reference to the ideological forces, referred to by Herman and Chomsky (1988) as 'manufactured consent', that maintain the ideological power of English in societies where English is not the native language of the majority of the population. In the case of Hong Kong, this manufactured consent can be seen as the ideological situation that was created as a result of colonialism during the United Kingdom's jurisdiction over Hong Kong. The status of English, as the language of the elite, quite naturally led to the belief that competence in English would lead to heightened socioeconomic status. Equally however, attitudes towards English, at least in the 19th and early 20th centuries, never developed to a stage wherein the local population embraced English as their own language, rather, as Eoyang et al. put it, the Hong Kong attitude was at best one of 'cool indifference' towards English (2012: 133).

Although the socioeconomic status of English has not changed markedly in Hong Kong following the transfer of sovereignty, the provision of English-medium education has changed in that English-medium education at secondary level is now reserved for only the 'best performing' students (Choi, 2003: 674). This has created a situation similar to the early colonial period in which English was reserved for only those with access to power. Theoretically any student with good grades can access English-medium secondary schools, however in practice this tends to be those with a higher socioeconomic status - those that have parents who have the time and money to ensure their children achieve good grades and thus entry to English-medium schools. The change in medium of instruction from English to Cantonese was framed by mass public outcry (ibid.) and although the pedagogical benefits of L1 instruction was lauded by the government as a truly positive change in direction for education in Hong Kong, the fact that some schools were able to retain English as their medium of instruction, whilst others were not, reinforced the idea that English-medium education is elite and therefore desirable.

As medium of instruction is one of the primary indicators of 'language power' (the ideological influence a certain language has) in society, it is perhaps to be expected that many sociolinguists have homed in on the on-going debate regarding medium of instruction policy in Hong Kong. Writing in 1989 on the implementation of mother-tongue education in Hong Kong amidst transition from diglossia (Cantonese and English) to triglossia (Cantonese, Putonghua and English) Daniel W. C. So notes that:

> Sociolinguistic conditions in Hong Kong approximate double overlapping diglossia as they encompass both Ferguson's (1972: 232-3) and Fishman's (1971, I: 286ff) conceptualisation of diglossia. (So, 1989: 29)

So notes that as a result of the changes in language policy which were enacted in the late 1960s by the colonial government, Hong Kong's diglossic situation has been in a period of flux ever since. So predicted in 1989 that the emergence of a triglossic situation would be most likely to occur in Hong Kong following the transfer of sovereignty in 1997.

The belief that Putonghua would come to play a role of greater importance in Hong Kong following the transfer of sovereignty in 1997 was a widely held belief - scholars such as Pierson (1992) believed that Putonghua would come to replace English as the language of government and Wright noted in 1997 that:

> The indications that Mandarin will be a prime language of power are already very clear; the meeting of the Selection Committee, called in late 1996 to choose a new post-colonial legislatiure, was conducted in Mandarin. (1997: 4)

Whilst there may have been indicators pointing to the rising status of Putonghua at the time of the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, twenty years later, Putonghua's status in Hong Kong is far from settled. Though English is now used less within the Legislative Council, it is Cantonese that has came to be the daily working language of council proceedings, not Putonghua (Ghai, 2016: 322). Putonghua is however used for communications between the Central Government in Beijing and the Hong Kong Legislative Council and additionally within some ceremonial settings (ibid.).

The diglossic situation in Hong Kong in the 1980s was, in relative terms, fairly clear-cut. English was the language of government (for the most part), tertiary education (for the most part) and international commerce and business transactions. The choice between English and Cantonese was a fairly utilitarian one and not so much based on choice but on necessity - English was necessary for socioeconomic advancement and Cantonese was (and remains) the language of the home, of culture and of expression. Diglossia is discussed further in detail in Section 2.8 of this introduction.

As with many sociolinguists carrying out research in Hong Kong in the late 1980s, So predicted that Hong Kong would transition from diglossia to triglossia and embrace (or perhaps be forced to accept) Putonghua as a third language in Hong Kong. This expectation makes the following assumptions: (i) that the post-colonial SAR government would enforce a policy of promoting Putonghua in Hong Kong post-1997 and that it would be successful; (ii) that the people of Hong Kong would readily accept Putonghua or, some sort of draconian method of subversion would force them to accept Putonghua; (iii) that Putonghua would play a big enough

role in the daily lives of Hong Kong's people and thus allow the transition to triglossia. These three assumptions are very much reasonable if one considers the growth of Mainland China's economy and thus the concurrent growth of Putonghua's 'language power'. Additionally, as Putonghua has been successfully proliferated throughout the majority of Mainland China (and Taiwan and amongst Singapore's Chinese-speaking population), the idea that the same could happen in Hong Kong is at least, not entirely far fetched.

However, as will be illustrated, none of the above assumptions have come to fruition, at least not yet and not entirely. While the post-colonial government have put in place a policy that officially promotes triglossia, the success of this policy is debatable and is one that will be looked at in greater detail throughout this thesis.

As with almost any debate on medium of instruction policy, the situation in Hong Kong is not only of pedagogical interest but also of political interest. So notes that any change brought about in medium of instruction policy serves to "crystallise the outcomes of the current sociolinguistic realignment process" (1989: 30). This 'realignment process' is arguably one that continues to the present day with an increased emphasis placed on Putonghua. The extent to which changes in medium of instruction policy serve to solidify the sociolinguistic alignment of any region, in terms of language-use and the belief values attached to any given language, however, is not entirely predictable. As discussed above, one might have expected, for instance, that changing the MOI in secondary schools for the majority of the population from English to Cantonese would have resulted in a surge in support for education in the L1 in Hong Kong and the establishment of Cantonese as Hong Kong's definitive language in terms of both culture and education. On the contrary however, the change in medium of instruction from English to Cantonese led to an outcry and calls for the return of English as the medium of instruction for secondary education in Hong Kong.

So notes that the diglossic condition in Hong Kong is composed of 'classic diglossia' and superposed bilingualism. Cantonese is used in ordinary conversation, English is used for special purposes, Cantonese was (is?) the 'low' variety' and English was (is?) the 'high variety'. So defines the relationship between Cantonese and English as one of 'superposed bilingualism' and claims that this 'superposed bilingualism' is a "product of the combined forces of British colonialism, the post-1949 infrastructural changes in Hong Kong, and the post-1945 sociolinguistic status of English in the world" (1989: 30). I would argue that it is primarily the post-1945 sociolinguistic status of English as an 'international language' that has maintained the status of English in Hong Kong to the present day.

In terms of receiving education through the medium of Cantonese or English, there was a sizable and persistent drop in the number of students enrolled in Cantonese-medium schools throughout the 1950s through to the 1980s. So presents some statistics on enrollment in Chinese-medium secondary schools and English-medium schools in the 1980s compared to the 1950s:

> ...the percentage of students enrolled in Chinese Middle Schools (CMS) has dropped from around 60% in the early 1950s to less than 10% in 1985. This dramatic decline of the CMSs tends to have the effect of confining mother tongue education advocates' concern to the secondary sector. (So, 1989: 32)

So refers here to the overwhelming preference of parents for a English-medium secondary education for their children. Secondary education is associated with progression to tertiary level

education and as such parents who wish for their children to progress to a respected (and at one time any) university send, if possible, their children to English-medium secondary schools. This led to the gradual contraction of the Chinese-medium secondary sector and the corresponding expansion of the English-medium secondary sector.

So notes that one of the defining characteristics of Chinese-medium secondary schools, which damaged their reputation in Hong Kong, was their relationship with schools in Mainland China prior to 1949:

> ...it may suffice to point out that when Chinese-medium education was introduced in Hong Kong in the 1920s, it was done in such a way that it functioned very much as an extension of the larger education system in China. For example, before 1949, most students from CMSs received their certification from education authorities in China and for those who opted to further their education at the tertiary level, they tended to do so at the tertiary institutions in China. After 1949, when such ties were severed, CMSs have been suffering from the image of being an appendage to a larger system which is no longer there. (So, 1989: 33)

Whilst, as So points out, it is very much likely that Chinese medium schools suffered as a result of Hong Kong's disconnection from mainland China, it is probable that it is the socioeconomic strength of the English language that helped to maintain the socioeconomically inferior status of CMSs, particularly following the transfer of sovereignty in 1997.

The effect that the colonial government's laissez-faire policy most likely had on the image of Chinese medium secondary schools in Hong Kong should also not be understated. While the colonial government did not discourage Chinese-medium secondary schools for most of colonial rule, it did very little to actively support and nurture Chinese-medium secondary schools until the late 1980s, thus allowing the perceived superiority of English-medium secondary schools to remain intact. When nine year compulsory education was introduced in Hong Kong in 1978 (Chow, 2014: 225) and the elitist character of English-medium schools was lost, those without practical ability in English began attending English-medium secondary schools, dramatically decreasing numbers in Chinese-medium secondary schools, and ultimately benefiting (at least pedagogically) little from instruction in English (Tsui, 2004: 100).

In 1986, the Department of Education announced a policy of 'positive discrimination' in favour of Chinese-medium secondary schools that would be implemented with effect from September 1988 (So, 1989: 35). One of the defining features of this policy was the provision of additional English language teachers and English language resources for English-medium schools that made the switch to Chinese-medium. This provision was a result of the government's recognition of the link between English and socioeconomic advancement and was done in order to quell the concerns of parents with regards to English levels in Chinese-medium schools. However, as this policy was 'optional' relatively few schools actually opted to make the change from English-medium to Chinese-medium, So notes that:

> ...initially, only 21 out of the existing ACSSs (Anglo-Chinese secondary schools) responded positively to the Department by agreeing to make a total switch to Chinese in the school year 1987-88: another 95 ACSSs indicated that they would make the same switch in 1988-89... (So, 1989: 35)

After all, why would schools want to make this switch? The status afforded to a school by merit of being nominally English-medium far outweighed any additional English language resources that could be offered by the government.

Ultimately, the colonial government achieved little with regards to changing language attitudes in Hong Kong and quite probably, there was no particular desire to do so. Although the government eventually enacted policy that aimed to encourage schools to adopt Cantonese as the medium of instruction, the government did not compel schools to do so and thus, many schools simply ignored the recommendation.

It is interesting to note that the situation regarding medium of instruction policy in Hong Kong entered a somewhat peculiar phase in the 1980s in that a Chinese population were mostly rejecting a Chinese-medium education, despite the aforementioned pedagogical benefits of such an education and despite the fact that just a few years earlier, there had been protests for the recognition of Chinese as an official language of the region (Ortmann, 2012: 83). So summarizes attitudes towards English medium education in Hong Kong in 1989 as follows:

> ...English medium secondary education in Hong Kong approximates the model of additive bilingualism in that it does not effect language shift at the societal level or loss of mother-tongue at the individual level. Hong Kong people opt for an ACSS education mainly because they want to acquire an additional language in the course of their education...the school linguistic environment in most ACSSs (Anglo-Chinese Secondary School) is similar to what one finds in Canadian immersion programmes, which have shown success in providing an education in a non-native medium. For example, ACSS students in Hong Kong are receiving English-medium instruction not among native-speakers of English, but among fellow Chinese youngsters whose proficiency in English is at comparable levels...in this respect, their plight is different from that of non-English speaking immigrant children in US bilingual education programmes. Also, the absolute majority of teaching personnel are bilingual...the ACSS students are there by self-selection; as a result, most of them do not have the kind of resentment that minority students often have when they are being deprived of their right to mother-tongue education. (So, 1989: 36)

Due to the introduction of compulsory Chinese-medium education for the majority of students in Hong Kong, which was introduced following the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, parents (and students) were no longer as free to decide upon which medium of secondary school they would like to attend. Theoretically, English-medium secondary schools were a possibility for everyone; however, these schools now had strict English-proficiency entry requirements and as such were reserved for high performing students - usually associated with those of a higher socioeconomic background. In creating a policy aimed to encourage Chinese-medium secondary education in Hong Kong, it is very possible that the postcolonial government had inadvertently restored the elitist character of English-medium secondary schools that was present in earlier colonial times.

Compulsory Chinese-medium education for the majority of Hong Kong's students was replaced in 2010 by an updated policy known as the *fine tuning* policy, which allows Chinese-medium schools to offer some classes in English based on student proficiency and examination results. The intent of this policy is to alleviate concerns that students are not developing sound English competency at Hong Kong's Chinese-medium schools, the majority of secondary schools

in the region. Poon et al. noted their support for this policy in 2013 and believe that this policy will bring about improvement in Hong Kong students' English competency. In my view, however, this policy is simply another example of the Hong Kong government reintroducing English as a medium of instruction due to public demand and thus further complicating the MOI situation in the region.

As mentioned above, it is generally accepted that education in the L1 is the most pedagogically beneficial medium of education for the majority of students. However, this poses an important question with regards to the contemporary situation in Hong Kong - what constitutes L1 education in the context of Hong Kong?

For the majority of those early supporters of 'mother tongue' education in Hong Kong, the 'mother tongue' referred to spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese. It is the written element of 'mother tongue' education that is problematic in Hong Kong. Written Cantonese is not used as the standard written medium in Hong Kong schools (or in almost any formal setting), rather it is Modern Standard Chinese that is used as the written mode. Poon offers a succinct summary of the challenge faced by Hong Kong students with regards to the disharmony between the spoken and written languages used in schools:

> ...the mismatch between written Chinese (Modern Standard Chinese) and spoken Chinese (Cantonese), while not a problem unique to Hong Kong, also poses a serious problem for students...who cannot write what they say. They think in Cantonese, their first language, and its written form is not recognised as standard written Chinese. They have to learn to write in Modern Standard Chinese, the spoken form of which (Putonghua) they do not use. (Poon, 2011: 54)

Regardless of whether a Hong Kong student attends a Cantonese-medium or English-medium school, the linguistic burden placed on the student will be high. At a Cantonese-medium school, English is provided as a discrete subject, and not used as the medium of instruction for the majority of subjects, whereas in an English-medium school, English *should* be used as the medium of instruction for a majority of subjects, with 'Chinese' being used for subjects related to Chinese language and culture. Putonghua is an additional subject in both schools, except those few schools that use Putonghua as the primary medium of instruction. The *fine tuning* policy complicates matters further in that schools may now decide to teach some subjects in English in a Chinese-medium school, though this varies considerably by school. Thus, the situation regarding the medium of instruction in Hong Kong is complex, to say the least.

The complexity surrounding what 'mother tongue' education means in Hong Kong is something that is not given a great deal of attention in Hong Kong. To the average Hong Konger, the 'mother tongue' is Chinese, of which Cantonese is a spoken variety and Modern Standard Chinese is the formalized written variety. The people of Hong Kong have, partly due to policy, a fairly functional approach to language. English is socioeconomically useful and has a high level of prestige attached to it, Modern Standard Chinese is likewise useful and has a relatively high level of prestige - thus, these two varieties should certainly be taught in schools. As a result of this functional attitude, Written Cantonese is not considered useful - it lacks prestige - and therefore time should not be wasted on it within the curriculum. Even though there is some acknowledgement of the fact that spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese are

different, this is given minimal attention within popular (and some academic) discourse in Hong Kong.

So predicted that the conditions in 1989, of superposed bilingualism in Hong Kong, would disappear and that Putonghua would make further gains following the 1997 transfer of sovereignty (So, 1989: 40). So also predicted that it would be difficult for Hong Kong to cope with a 'three-language situation' in a region that officially only recognizes two languages - English and an all-encompassing 'Chinese'. As is evidenced in this thesis, the Hong Kong government have indeed had difficulty implementing a policy promoting 'biliteracy' and 'trilingualism' due to a lack of recognition of the inconstancies between a policy that promotes the acquisition of three languages and Hong Kong Basic Law, Article 9, which recognizes only two languages, English and 'Chinese', as official. This matter is discussed in detail in the first paper included in this thesis.

2.5 Language and the Transfer of Sovereignty

On the eve of the transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to the People's Republic of China, sociolinguistics and political scientists both made predictions as to the changes that this transfer might bring to Hong Kong society (Wright, 1997: 1). The below section looks briefly at Hong Kong's linguistic situation in 1996/7, primarily based on a report published by Dickson and Cumming in 1996.

Hong Kong's 1991 census reported that in contrast to the widespread use of Cantonese (88.7% of the population), only 2.2% of the population spoke English as their usual language with even less, at just over 1% of the population, declaring Putonghua as their usual language (Dickson and Cumming, 1996: 41). It is assumed that in the six years between this census and the end of British rule there was not a massive change in these proportions.

As Chinese had only been recognized as an official language in Hong Kong around twenty years prior to the publication of Dickson and Cumming's 1996 report on language use in Hong Kong, the report comments that while the use of Chinese had increased in official capacities leading up to and following the enactment of the Official Languages Ordinance, English had remained the:

> ...principal medium for intra-governmental written communication and records; it is still the language of the high courts; to a great extent is the medium of assessment and examination for most educational institutions at secondary and tertiary levels; it is also the preferred language for written contracts and records in the commercial sector. (Dickson and Cumming, 1996: 42)

We can therefore note that just prior to the transfer of sovereignty, English continued to dominate the higher echelons of Hong Kong society and was the language afforded the highest level of prestige. Whilst there has been some movement in terms of the use of English in official domains since 1997, English arguably maintains its status as a prestige language in the Hong Kong context. In terms of Hong Kong's education system prior to the transfer of sovereignty, we have already seen that the medium of instruction was an issue of great contention and despite (somewhat weak) attempts by the colonial government, English medium schools remained the choice *par excellence* for parents in Hong Kong:

> ...English is part of the core curriculum which defines the compulsory subjects in primary and secondary education (age 6 to 17), in other words it must normally be taught as a subject in all primary and secondary schools...English is also, by choice, a medium of instruction in about 10% of the schools at primary level, and over 80%of the schools at secondary level. However, in many of these English-medium schools, Cantonese is used to a varying extent together with English in classroom instruction, although textbooks and assessments are mainly in English. (Dickson and Cumming, 1996: 42)

As the report was written just prior to the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, Dickson and Cumming offer their opinions as to what might have changed in Hong Kong following the commencement of Chinese sovereignty. They predicted that, whilst English was the primary language of commerce and government in 1996, it was likely that English would come to function as an "auxiliary language" (1996: 45) after 1997 and would be used primarily for international communication and academic study at tertiary level. They also predicted that, despite resistance from both schools and parents, that the government would be successful in reducing the number of students educated in English-medium schools and increasing the number of those educated in Chinese-medium schools.

Dickson and Cumming were mostly accurate in their predictions, though the change in status of English following the transfer of sovereignty is perhaps not quite as clear cut as has been suggested. Whilst the official role of English in society has diminished somewhat, it is still an official language of Hong Kong and indeed is a prerequisite for employment in Hong Kong's civil service.[7] Furthermore, the high prestige of English in Hong Kong's education system, particularly at the tertiary level, is still very much evident. Whilst official policy has aimed to diminish the prestige of English in some domains, the ideological strength of English, primarily as a result of Hong Kong's colonial history and the internationally recognized socioeconomic worth of English, has allowed English to mostly hold on to its status post-1997. Perhaps one of the most controversial issues regarding the unchanged status of English post-1997 is the fact that Hong Kong's legal system still relies quite heavily on English, particularly the High Court (Ng, 2009).

Interestingly, Dickson and Cumming's 1996 report makes little reference to the possible emergence of Putonghua as a major language in Hong Kong. They do note in the concluding paragraph of their report that "it is expected that the teaching of Putonghua will soon take up a significant share of school time" (1996: 46) as a result of the political changes in Hong Kong, however no further comment is given. The third paper included in this thesis examines the role that Putonghua now has in Putonghua's primary and junior-secondary curriculum.

2.6 Issues of Identity

Hong Kong is a region wherein changes in language use and language status have been a key factor in the formation of the Hong Kong identity throughout both the colonial and the present post-colonial administrations. The development of Hong Kong's patterns of language use are intrinsically linked and explicitly influenced by the way in which language planning and policy

[7] Civil Service Bureau: Appointment Requirements, http://www.csb.gov.hk/english/recruit/cre/949.html (Accessed December 1st, 2007)

activities in the region have attempted to direct the way in which the Hong Kong population use language in society.

Prior to the enactment of policy that enforced Chinese-medium secondary education for the majority of students in Hong Kong in the late 1990s, secondary school students were generally educated through the medium of English. This impacted on the development of the individual - not being taught via one's L1 can potentially lead to a disconnect with one's ethnic, cultural or national identity (Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty, 2006: 3) and thus forces students to find their identity, where possible, within the curriculum. Drawing on observations made by Luk in 1991, Adamson and Lai point out that through the Chinese Language and Chinese cultural subjects:

> ...generations of Hong Kong students grew up learning from the Chinese culture subjects to identify themselves as Chinese but relating that Chineseness to neither contemporary China nor the local Hong Kong landscape. It was a Chinese identity in the abstract, a patriotism of the 'émigré', probably held all the more absolute because it was not connected to a tangible reality. (Adamson and Lai, 1997: 235)

As students were living in a colonial society with a government that, particularly in the early years of the colony, was quite removed from the lived experiences of the general population, and as students were increasingly educated at the secondary and tertiary levels via the medium of English, they formed their Chinese identity through subjects taught in the vernacular - Chinese language, literature, history and culture. These subjects, as Luk (1991) and Adamson and Lai (1997) point out facilitated the development of an identity based on an almost romanticized idea of being Chinese - not on the contemporary landscapes of either mainland China or Hong Kong. As mainland China and Hong Kong increasingly began to diverge in terms of the development of their respective societies, particularly as a result of the failed Great Leap Forward (1958-61) and Cultural Revolution (1966-76) policy projects of the PRC, the Hong Kong identity formed quite separately to that of the mainland identity - these historical differences arguably persist and reinforce ideas regarding identity in contemporary Hong Kong today.

This identity that was formed as a result of the colonial government's approach to education is not given further attention in Adamson and Lai's article, however the way in which language-in-education policy, and more generally Hong Kong's LPP policy, led to the formation of a unique and specific Hong Kong identity requires closer examination in the context of the current study. The way in which the contemporary Putonghua subject might be used as a vehicle for the delivery of a 'pan-Chinese' identity in Hong Kong is examined in the third research paper included in this thesis.

Language planning and policy activities in postcolonial contexts are undoubtedly influential in shaping the identity of the newly independent nation. These activities are often used with the intention of promoting national unity (Ha et al., 2013: 61) and at times dispelling the influence of the previous colonial administration. In postcolonial contexts such as Singapore, Malaysia, and particularly Indonesia (Paauw, 2009: 2), where the population do not all speak the same first language, the unifying nature of an official 'first language' can often be a priority for LPP policymakers. In the case of Hong Kong, such a unifying language was not required - the mostly homogeneous population already overwhelmingly shared the same first language - Cantonese. However, Hong Kong is also somewhat unique in that the first language of the population has

never *explicitly* been recognized as such - it is rather 'Chinese' that is recognized as the 'mother tongue' of the population. Furthermore, the decolonization process that began in the late 1980s was not a pathway to independent sovereignty, but rather the 'transfer' of the region from one influential power, the UK, to another, the PRC. Therefore typical models of decolonization are not as easily applied to Hong Kong. Following the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, there was no 'surface level' change to the official languages of Hong Kong, owing primarily to the ambiguity of the term 'Chinese', which is discussed in detail in the first paper included in this thesis.

Once the transfer of sovereignty had been confirmed in 1989, one of the biggest concerns of the Hong Kong population and of businesses in the region was the potential 'loss' of English that might have occurred (or been enforced) as a result of Chinese sovereignty. Lin notes in 1997 that:

> Hong Kong people are afraid of losing their 'economic stability and prosperity' (a recurrent phrase in the public discourses in Hong Kong). The government, academic and media discourses repeatedly assert that Hong Kong's economic prosperity depends on attracting foreign investors, which in turn depends on providing them with an English-conversant labour force. This saturation of consciousness by the 'economic argument' has legitimised the subordination of all sociocultural and educational goals to the single goal of mastering a socially, culturally, and linguistically distant language for the majority of children in Hong Kong. (1997: 7)

Since the transfer of sovereignty, popular discourse in Hong Kong has bemoaned the English ability of students and predictions have been made regarding the loss of English in the region.[8] However, the position of English has in reality remained mostly unchanged following the transfer of sovereignty. It has less in the way of overt and official prestige, however it is nonetheless still very much a marker of high socioeconomic worth and of international trade and tertiary education. In fact, though many feared that the Central Government of the PRC would enforce some sort of policy that would signal the decline of English in Hong Kong, it is arguably in the best interest (in terms of business and finance) of the Central Government that Hong Kong remain an English speaking region (such as it is) and arguably, the Central Government know this and thus do not interfere (Joseph, 2004: 158).

English and 'Chinese' (referring to spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese) have thus remained, mostly, unchanged in terms of status following the transfer of sovereignty. There have nonetheless been changes in the provision of English-medium education for secondary school students. 'Chinese' is used more in official domains than previously, and more students (somewhat grudgingly) receive their secondary education through 'Chinese', but there hasn't been a shift on the scale of what some predicted prior to the transfer of sovereignty. What then, of Putonghua? Putonghua was not a major language in Hong Kong prior to 1997 - we must ask then, has Putonghua gained considerable ground since 1997?

With the extraordinary growth of the PRC's economy in the last several decades, so too has the socioeconomic worth of Putonghua grown, not just in Hong Kong but internationally (Zhao

[8]For example, the somewhat hysterical headline of the South China Morning Post on 10 September 2015: "'English has been forgotten': Hong Kong must improve English standards to stay competitive, says lawmaker Michael Tien" http://www.scmp.com/news/hong-kong/education-community/article/1857139/hong-kong-should-do-more-promote-english, Accessed 1st December, 2017

and Huang, 2010: 127). As such, it might be expected that, with their traditionally highly functional attitude towards language, Hong Kongers might be reasonably eager to embrace Putonghua - particularly as they are regularly exposed to its syntax and lexis via Modern Standard Chinese. The Hong Kong attitude towards language however, is not quite as functional as might be claimed, at least not where Putonghua is concerned.

Policies aimed at the proliferation of Putonghua have, at most, been mildly successful. A potential contributing factor to the lackluster support for Putonghua in Hong Kong is no doubt to be found in the way in which the Hong Kong identity has been constructed - separately and at times in conflict with the mainland Chinese identity. Webster (2009: 146) for example notes that in 1997, 18.6% of the Hong Kong population identified themselves as 'people of China', 8.9% as 'Hong Kong Chinese' and 54.3% as 'Hong Kong people.' This means that in 1997, more than half of the population of Hong Kong did not identify as 'people of China' and for 63.2% of the population, Hong Kong was a key feature of their identity. As is shown in the third paper included in this thesis, these numbers have changed somewhat in 2017, with slightly more identifying as *solely* Chinese and indeed, slightly more also identifying as *solely* Hong Konger - there has been, therefore, a shift towards identifying entirely at one end of the 'identity spectrum', likely as a result of political tensions in Hong Kong centred on Chinese sovereignty and Hong Kong's right to self-rule. The 2014 Umbrella Revolution (or Umbrella Movement), which saw mass protests in Hong Kong over proposed reforms to Hong Kong's electoral system that would allow the PRC to effectively pre-screen candidates for election in Hong Kong, likely engendered a shift to a more radical conception of the Hong Kong identity. The student-dominated pro-protest faction likely affirmed their Hong Kong identity and the opposing faction equally likely affirmed their Chinese identity throughout these protests. Whether or not this shift in identity had a lasting effect remains to be seen. It is likely however, that academic work will shed some light on this in due course.

Webster (2009: 146) additionally notes that people in Hong Kong feel an attachment to Cantonese and English - Cantonese as their L1 and English as the language of social mobility, and perhaps even as a marker of the Hong Kong identity, something that separates Hong Kong from the rest of China. Webster also advises that the Hong Kong Legislative Council must take into consideration the different roles played by Cantonese, English and Putonghua in Hong Kong society (2009: 152) - perhaps making reference to the fact that there are defined domains of language use in Hong Kong, to which each of the three languages might belong.

Webster makes the assertion that Putonghua will become increasingly necessary for Hong Kong should it wish to remain an international city and perhaps controversially states that Putonghua "further serves to promote a sense of national identity" (2009: 152). As an international language used increasingly in international trade and business communication, Putonghua will undoubtedly be of increasing importance to Hong Kong in terms of economics. However, in terms of strengthening Hong Kong's national identity, it is first necessary to establish what that national identity is. Is the Hong Kong 'national' identity one and the same as that of the PRC, and should it be? As has been evidenced by an examination of the literature, the Hong Kong identity is not one and the same as that of the PRC and using Putonghua as a tool to force the Hong Kong identity to become closer to the mainland Chinese identity would be akin to neo-colonialism. Assuming that Putonghua can be used as a tool to force the population of

Hong Kong to shift their identities closer to that of their mainland counterparts is arguably the very reason that current policy fails to have the desired effect - if people are made to feel that their identities are under threat, and indeed that Cantonese, as an integral component of the Hong Kong identity is under threat, then they will likely reject whatever it is that is trying to force a change in identity - in this case, Putonghua.

Should the Legislative Council ever hope to successfully promote Putonghua as a language of Hong Kong, they will first need to tackle the question of identity - how does Putonghua reconcile itself with the Hong Kong identity? The third paper included in this thesis looks at how the 'Han nationality', as a *pan-Chinese identity*, is potentially being used by the Hong Kong Legislative Council to promote the idea of using Putonghua to teach the Chinese Language Subject in Hong Kong schools.

2.7 Demographics of Hong Kong

2.7.1 Place of Birth

When discussing the identity of Hong Kong's population it is important to consider who makes up this population and where that population comes from. Hong Kong's 2016 *Population By-census* provides information on the place of birth of Hong Kong's residents for 2016 and contrasts these with figures from every by-census since 1986. As this thesis primarily looks at the position of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong, of particular interest to this study is the population in Hong Kong that originate from Mainland China or from Taiwan, two regions in which Putonghua (or 'Mandarin')[9] is the official language.[10]

Table 8: Place of Birth of Hong Kong Population, 1986 - 2016 By-censuses

	Hong Kong	Mainland/Macau/Taiwan	Elsewhere
1981	2,854,482	1,973,976	158,102
1986	3,203,165	1,999,185	193,647
1991	3,299,597	1,967,508	255,176
1996	3,749,332	2,096,511	371,713
2001	4,004,894	2,263,571	439,924
2006	4,138,844	2,298,956	426,546
2011	4,278,126	2,267,917	525,533
2016	4,451,493	2,272,293	612,799

As is demonstrated in the above table, the population of those born in Hong Kong has steadily risen from 1981 - 2016 with particularly high increases between 1981 and 1986 and 1991 and 1996. Overall the Hong Kong born population has risen by approximately 56% from 1981 to 2016. The situation regarding the Mainland / Macau / Taiwan population reveals a slightly

[9]The PRC refers to the language as 'Putonghua' (普通話) and Taiwan refers to it as 'Mandarin' (國語, *National Language)*

[10]The figures presented in Table 8 *include* the 'Foreign Domestic Helper' (FDH) population, who fall into the 'Elsewhere' category for place of birth according to the statistics available. It is possible to exclude these figures using the online resources provided by the *Census & Statistics Department*, however there are no valid reasons for doing so for the purposes of this study. It should be noted that not *all* of those that selected 'Elsewhere' as their place of birth are FDHs though they do constitute a majority in this category - 52% in 2016, for example.

different picture. There has been a steady yet smaller increase in population numbers in this group from 1986 with a larger than average increase between 1996 and 2001, likely due to the transfer of sovereignty in 1997. Overall the 'Mainland / Macau / Taiwan' born population has risen by approximately 15%/ from 1981 to 2016. It should be noted that these figures may be somewhat misleading in that those born to mainland Chinese parents in Hong Kong would be counted as being born in Hong Kong (obviously), though they may not consider themselves to be 'from Hong Kong.' This specific issue is discussed in brief in section 2.6 of this introductory section and in greater detail in the third research paper included in this thesis.

2.7.2 Ethnic Identity

The above section provides some information with regards to where Hong Kong's population originates from in terms of geographical locale. These figures tell us less with regards to how the population of Hong Kong identify in terms of ethnicity, which is of particular pertinence to the third paper included in this thesis. The 2016 by-census again provides figures on the ethnic identity of the Hong Kong population and compares these with data from the 2006 by-census and 2011 census:

Table 9: Population by Year & Ethnicity: 2006, 2011, 2016 Census Data

Year	2006		2011		2016	
	Population		Population		Population	
	Number of Persons	Percentage	Number of Persons	Percentage	Number of Persons	Percentage
Ethnicity						
Chinese	6,522,148	95.0%	6,620,393	93.6%	6,752,202	92.0%
Filipino	115,423	1.6%	133,018	1.9%	184,081	2.5%
Indonesian	87,840	1.3%	133,377	1.9%	153,299	2.1%
White	36,384	0.5%	55,236	0.8%	58,209	0.8%
Indian	20,444	0.3%	28,616	0.4%	36,462	0.5%
Nepalese	15,950	0.2%	16,518	0.2%	25,472	0.3%
Pakistani	11,111	0.2%	18,042	0.3%	18,094	0.2%
Thai	11,900	0.2%	11,213	0.2%	10,215	0.1%
Japanese	13,189	0.2%	12,580	0.2%	9,976	0.1%
Other Asian	12,663	0.2%	12,247	0.2%	19,589	0.3%
Others	20,264	0.3%	30,336	0.4%	68,986	0.9%
Total	**6,864,386**	**100%**	**7,071,576**	**100%**	**7,336,585**	**100%**

As is demonstrated above, the number of those that identify as ethnically Chinese has decreased by 3% as numbers in all other groups (except Thai and Japanese) has risen between 2006 and 2016. This would account for increased migration to Hong Kong over the years 2010 - 2016. What exactly identifying as 'Chinese' means in the Hong Kong context is a matter of some debate - this is discussed in section 2.6 of this introductory literature review and is discussed in greater detail in the third paper included in this thesis.

2.7.3 Languages Spoken by the Hong Kong Population

The 2016 by-census does not provide a great deal of detail with regards to the languages spoken by the Hong Kong population and so this section instead draws on work carried out by Bacon-Shone et al. in 2015 to provide statistics with regards to the languages spoken by the Hong Kong population. Table 10 on the next page details the knowledge and use of spoken language

by the Hong Kong population in 2014/15. For illustrative purposes, the figures for those that profess knowledge in Cantonese, Putonghua, and English and the figures for those that profess these languages as their mother tongue, and their ability in these languages 'Now,'[11] have been highlighted in Table 10. This is done in order to draw attention to these three languages, considered the 'official languages' of Hong Kong.[12]

Table 10: Knowledge & Use of Spoken Language by Percentage (Bacon-Shone et al. 2015: 18)

Languages Spoken	Mother Tongue	Before School	Now	Family Members	Domestic Helpers	Friends	Work Colleagues	Work Clients
Cantonese	**89.1%**	83.2%	**99.6%**	97.4%	52.9%	98.2%	97.3%	94.3%
Chiu Chau	0.8%	4.4%	5.8%	1.9%	0.0%	1.0%	0.1%	0.4%
Fukien	0.8%	3.1%	4.1%	1.8%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.1%
Hakka	0.9%	5.1%	6.8%	1.9%	0.0%	1.6%	0.1%	0.3%
Putonghua	**4.7%**	14.0%	**68.0%**	6.6%	3.4%	14.4%	15.0%	37.8%
Shanghainese	0.3%	1.6%	2.3%	0.8%	0.0%	0.7%	0.1%	0.0%
Sze Yap	0.2%	1.3%	1.6%	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Other Chinese	1.8%	5.6%	6.5%	2.2%	0.0%	1.4%	0.4%	0.3%
English	**0.6%**	9.5%	**62.2%**	10.9%	61.8%	21.9%	33.2%	48.1%
French	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%
German	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Portuguese	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Spanish	0.0%	0.1%	0.9%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
Other European	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Filipino	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Indonesian	0.0%	0.8%	1.2%	0.5%	1.8%	0.4%	0.1%	0.1%
Japanese	0.0%	0.2%	5.2%	0.1%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.3%
Korean	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Malay	0.0%	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Thai	0.1%	0.1%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Nepalese	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
Urdu	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Hindi	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other Asian	0.0%	0.1%	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Other languages	0.2%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Table 10 illustrates that Cantonese is the best known language and the 'mother tongue' of the overwhelming majority of the population surveyed. Putonghua is the second largest 'mother tongue' in Hong Kong though it still accounts for less than 5% of the surveyed population's mother tongue. Predictably, English accounts for only 0.6% of the surveyed population's professed 'mother tongue.' The figures for 'now' demonstrate that after formal education, 99.6%, 68.0%, and 62.2% have knowledge of Cantonese, Putonghua, and English respectively. This demonstrates that Putonghua was marginally 'better known' than English in Hong Kong in 2014/15.

Considering that just 4.7% of Hong Kong's population declared Putonghua as their 'mother tongue' in Bacon-Shone et al.'s 2014/15 survey, it is interesting to note that this figure has increased only marginally over the last several decades, with 2.6% of the Hong Kong Chinese population declaring it as their 'mother tongue' in 1983 and the same amount of the entire

[11] 'Now' refers to respondents' self-professed ability in a language following formal education. It is interesting to note that the figures for 'Mother Tongue' and 'Before School' generally do not match, suggesting that some respondents may feel a particular loyalty towards a specific language variety despite having ability in another language variety. Only 4.7% of respondents profess Putonghua as their 'mother tongue' yet 14.0% 'knew' the language before school, for instance.

[12] Bacon-Shone et al. note that the figures for Filipino, Indonesian and Thai are under-reported in the figures presented in Table 10 due to the exclusion of foreign domestic helpers from the survey. They also note that only those capable of answering in Cantonese, Putonghua, or English were capable of completing the survey, which may bias the results somewhat (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 19)

population declaring it as their 'mother tongue' ten years later in 1993 (Bacon-Shone and Bolton, 1998: 73). It can be assumed, therefore, that those born in Hong Kong to mainland Chinese parents have likely acquired Cantonese as their 'mother tongue' or that migration from mainland China has had little effect on the overall dominant status of Cantonese in Hong Kong society.

2.7.4 Waves of Migration to Hong Kong

Hong Kong is often viewed as a city of Chinese immigration, with a relatively long history of immigrants arriving from different parts of mainland China and beyond (Law and Lee, 2006: 217). Taking into consideration the principles of language policy, waves of migration to a specific region are critical in considering the groups of people that language policies are supposed to effect and indeed the purpose behind the language policies themselves - do waves of migration lead to the creation of specific language policies? This section specifically discusses Chinese immigration to Hong Kong, particularly from mainland China, which is of relevance to the investigative aims of this thesis. Summarized below in Table 11 is a brief overview of the various waves of migration from mainland China to Hong Kong:[13]

Table 11: Waves of Migration to Hong Kong: 1850s - Present

Period	Catalyst	Languages Spoken
1850s	Taiping Rebellion	Primarily varieties of Southern Chinese
1910s	Xinhai Revolution	Primarily varieties of Southern Chinese
1938	Japanese occupation of Guangdong	Primarily varieties of Southern Chinese
1949/50	Communist control of mainland China	Various varieties of Chinese
1960s	The PRC's 'Great Leap Forward' policy	Various varieties of Chinese
1970s-1980s	The PRC's 'Open Door' policy	Various varieties of Chinese
1990s - Present	Various Hong Kong policies promoting 'skilled labourer' migration	Various varieties of Chinese

As can be seen from the above table, the majority of the waves of migration from the 1850s to the 1960s were brought about by social unrest in mainland China. From the 1970s onwards migration from mainland China was primarily motivated by economic opportunity as opposed to escaping social unrest or oppression as a result of PRC policy.

Particularly in the earlier years of colonial Hong Kong, immigration to Hong Kong from the mainland was not strictly controlled by the Hong Kong Government and there tended to be a circular motion of migration between the two regions, with workers coming from the mainland to earn money in Hong Kong and then returning to their homes in mainland China afterwards (Law and Lee, 2006: 230). From the mid-1970s onwards, however, the Hong Kong Government became stricter with regards to the region's border controls and implemented what was known as the "touch base" policy. This policy allowed those that evaded apprehension at the border to stay in Hong Kong if they established a home there and repatriated those who were apprehended at the border (Lee and Law, 2006: 220). This policy ended, however, in 1980 and was replaced with stricter immigration controls that effectively meant that the only way a Chinese citizen of the mainland could gain residence in Hong Kong was via a "one-way permit" (OWP). In 2017

[13] Although I have attempted to offer some specificity with regards to the varieties of Chinese that migrants might have spoken in these various waves of migration it is difficult to quantify this, particularly in years in which migration was from various different areas of the mainland and not primarily from Southern, Cantonese-speaking, areas. It is also difficult to ascertain which language varieties immigrants 'originally' spoke as the Hong Kong Government, both the colonial and the present government, do not record this information.

46,971 people arrived in Hong Kong by means on a "one-way permit", which allows migrants to permanently leave the mainland and settle in Hong Kong (Home Affairs Department, The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2017). The number of migrants arriving by means of a "One-way permit" from 2013 - 2017 are summarized below:

Table 12: One-way Permit Holders, 2013-2017 (Home Affairs Department)

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Number of One-way Permit Holders	45,031	40,496	38,338	57,387	46,971

As can be seen from the above table, there appears to be no particular pattern with regards to the number of "one-way permit" holders arriving in Hong Kong over the last five years, though a somewhat unusually higher number arrived in 2016 compared to the other years.

2.7.5 Migration's Effect on Hong Kong's Language Policy

The above sections have discussed Hong Kong's demographics, with specific emphasis placed on migration from the Chinese mainland to Hong Kong. As this thesis deals with the position of Putonghua in Hong Kong, the intention of the above sections was to quantify how much of the Hong Kong population originate from mainland China and therefore how much of this migrant population might speak Putonghua as a 'native', second, or other language. If the population of Hong Kong was 7.347 million in 2016 and the Mainland / Macau / Taiwan born population was 2.272 million (Table 8, page 33), then in 2016 approximately 30% of Hong Kong's population was made up of those from other parts of 'greater China.'[14] This section will consider if this migration from mainland China has had any effect on Hong Kong's language policy and if either the colonial or postcolonial governments have considered this migration when drafting Hong Kong's language policy.

Referring to Section 2.7.4, I have broadly summarized waves of migration from mainland China and their respective catalysts. If we consider these time periods and look at Hong Kong's language policy situation from the 1850s onwards, we can hypothesize whether or not the colonial or postcolonial governments have taken into consideration the linguistic background of these migrants in the drafting of the region's language policies.

Table 13: Waves of Migration to Hong Kong and Hong Kong's Language Policies: 1850s - Present

Period	Catalyst	Language Policy
1850s	Taiping Rebellion	English as language of government
1910s	Xinhai Revolution	English as language of government
1938	Japanese occupation of Guangdong	English as language of government
1949/50	Communist control of mainland China	English as language of government
1960s	The PRC's 'Great Leap Forward' policy	English as language of government
1970s-1980s	The PRC's 'Open Door' policy	English and 'Chinese' as official languages
1990s - Present	Various Hong Kong policies promoting 'skilled labourer' migration	English and 'Chinese' as official languages

As can be seen from the above table, English was Hong Kong's sole de facto official language from the beginning of the region's time as a colony of the United Kingdom and this persisted

[14] I use the term 'greater China' here to include both mainland China (the PRC) and Taiwan (the ROC), as well as Macau. The Hong Kong government do not provide statistics on migration solely from the mainland so it is difficult to say with certainty what the precise figure might be.

for much of the 20th century, with Chinese becoming a co-official language of the region in 1974 with the *Official Languages Ordinance*. Prior to 1974, the region did not have a codified language policy though English was the language of government and by dint the more complex areas of daily life (commerce, higher education, etc.) by practice. There is little evidence to suggest that the colonial government took into consideration the linguistic needs of its migrant population, particularly when it did not officially recognize 'Chinese' as a language of the region until 1974. Furthermore, as migrants to Hong Kong from mainland China spoke a variety of different Chinese language varieties, it would be difficult to legislate and to bestow on all of these languages specific protection (and perhaps even promotion) under Hong Kong's legal system. Based on the statistics available however, we can say with relative certainty that Hong Kong has been a majority Cantonese speaking region since the earliest available records, suggesting that a majority of migrants initially came from Cantonese or other Southern Chinese variety speaking areas. The 1911 census for instance reports that 81.0% of the region's population spoke Cantonese as their usual language (Bacon-Shone and Bolton, 1998: 45), this had increased to 88.1% by 1971 (Bacon-Shone and Bolton, 1998: 53) and has remained stable at 89.1% of the population claiming it as their 'mother tongue' in 2014 and 99.6% of the population claiming that they 'knew' Cantonese in 2014 (Bacon-Shone et al. 2015: 18).

Questions relating to proficiency in Putonghua were not routinely asked in Hong Kong censuses in the earlier years of the colony[15], it was reported in 1961 that just under 1% of the population spoke it as their usual language (Bacon-Shone and Bolton, 1998: 45) and by 1991 that just over 1% spoke it as their usual language (Bacon-Shone and Bolton, 1998: 54). By the time of Bacon-Shone et al.'s 2014/15 linguistic survey, 4.7% of the population claimed it as their mother tongue, as referenced on page 35 of this thesis.

It is debatable as to whether the colonial Hong Kong government considered migration when drafting language policies for the region, particularly as there was no codified language policy for the region until 1974. Following the transfer of sovereignty, the Hong Kong Legislative Council have increasingly stressed the importance of Putonghua for the region, as the national language of the People's Republic of China. This has primarily been reflected in language-in-education policy and has not affected Hong Kong's *core* language policy, as reflected in Article 9 of the region's Basic Law. The placement of Putonghua in language-in-education policy is discussed in the third paper included in this thesis and how the wording of Article 9 allows a flexible interpretation of what 'Chinese' means in Hong Kong is discussed in the first paper included in this thesis.

2.8 The Language of Tertiary Education

Despite attempts by the government to limit accessibility to English-medium secondary schools in Hong Kong, an issue that persists is that the majority of universities in Hong Kong make use of English as the medium of instruction for some if not all subjects, excluding subjects directly relating to Chinese language and culture. Hong Kong's four major universities; The University of Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University and The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology all use English as the primary medium

[15]This is to be expected, as attempts to create a standardized Chinese language only really began in the 1920s in mainland China and were only fully formalized following the establishment of the PRC in 1949.

of instruction. It is interesting to note that The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) was established in order to offer Chinese-medium tertiary education to students in Hong Kong and to contrast the primarily English-medium nature of The University of Hong Kong. This policy is enshrined in The Chinese University of Hong Kong Ordinance originally published in 1976:

> ...it is declared that The Chinese University of Hong Kong, in which the principal language of instruction shall be Chinese...

However, actual practice of The Chinese University of Hong Kong dictates that non-Chinese related subjects are generally taught in English, with mixed-code instruction, as in all tertiary institutions in Hong Kong, very common. In fact, in a series of online FAQs aimed at incoming students from Mainland China, it is explicitly noted that English is the medium of instruction for a great deal of undergraduate subjects:

> The Chinese University of Hong Kong has always practiced the principal of bilingual Chinese-English education, noting the importance of the policy of trilingualism and biliteracy. Many of our teaching staff have studied at or taught at universities all over the world, and thus many have mastery in both Chinese and English. For many majors, the language of instruction is English. (Author's own translation)[16]

Thus, despite The Chinese University of Hong Kong's official status as a Chinese-medium institution, many of its degree programs are taught, at least purportedly, through the medium of English. Lin and Man (2011: 105) note that of all the tertiary level institutions in Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong has faced "the greatest tension and the most difficult situation among the universities when having to come to grips with the medium of instruction issues at tertiary level." CUHK is faced with the issue that it was established for the sake of offering Chinese-medium instruction to university students and is ideologically bound to this and yet cannot ignore the realities of a society that values English as the most valuable language for socioeconomic advancement. Lin and Man make reference to the Final Report on Bilingualism produced by CUHK in 2007 in which it is stated:

> The bilingual policy of *liangwen sanyu* (two written systems and three spoken codes), adopted by CUHK for the last four decades, is a distinctive characteristic and strength of the University. The policy on bilingual education at the University and its objectives should remain unchanged (2011: 106).

The same report however makes the allowance that:

> To be globally competitive, the University must acknowledge the importance of English as an international language. It should foster multicultural exchange and cultivate a cosmopolitan outlook among its students through a bilingual policy (2011: 106)

[16]Original in Chinese: " 香港中文大学一直以中、英双语并重为教学原则，重视两文三语。校内大部分教师曾在世界各地大学攻读或任教，多兼通中、英两种语文。主修科多以英文授课." https://www.oafa.cuhk.edu.hk/86-mainland-students. Original page since removed, information preserved at http://www.eic.org.cn/News/Detail/crb6YFJpckOMLMiOsIslHQ. Accessed 1st December, 2017.

CUHK, like many other academic institutions in Hong Kong therefore faces a conundrum - offering Chinese medium education at the tertiary level is a responsibility of the university, in terms of its legal obligations under the 1976 ordinance and as the *Chinese* University of Hong Kong. However, academic institutions decide upon their medium of instruction based on demand - students want English-medium education, for the status it affords them and for the career prospects that apparently come of it, and therefore, in order to remain competitive the university must adopt English-medium education. It is very much a case of supply and demand - language is, as in many societies, a commodity in Hong Kong.

As a result of the majority of secondary schools becoming Chinese-medium institutions in the late 1990s, the relationship between the secondary and tertiary sectors in Hong Kong has become somewhat difficult. While it is by no means fair that tertiary education had previously been reserved for an elite, English-speaking subsection of society, it is perhaps equally unfair that the majority of Hong Kong students are now forced to enter a tertiary institution without sufficient command of the language they are expected to be taught and examined in. Whilst, on the surface, the position of English in Hong Kong has changed, policy documents show this, one must question whether the situation has truly changed - has the sociolinguistic positions of Cantonese and English in Hong Kong shifted at all, and what of Putonghua?

Hong Kong's Department of Education officially endorses both 'mother tongue' education and the establishment of a solid base of Putonghua and English speakers within the framework of 'biliteracy and trilingualism'. However, in order to study anything other than Chinese related subjects at university, Hong Kong students must be prepared to study in English. Although this situation is anchored in the field of education, it has wider repercussions for the sociolinguistic situation in Hong Kong as a whole. The education system should be the clearest reflection of Hong Kong's language policy and the primary and secondary sectors are indeed relatively clear. Cantonese is the medium of instruction in the overwhelming majority of primary and secondary institutions with English medium instruction at the secondary level being reserved for academically high-performing Cantonese speakers. The tertiary sector however is composed of primarily English-medium degree programs.

This presents a disconnect, one which is perhaps symptomatic of Hong Kong's language policy as a whole. The use of English as the primary medium of instruction at tertiary level would suggest that the value of English is still viewed as higher, if not significantly higher than that of Cantonese and Putonghua. The tertiary sector is perhaps therefore one of the last vestiges of the colonial linguistic alignment - English is the preferred language and indeed the most respected. Cantonese therefore comes to be viewed as an auxiliary language, except in those 'Chinese subjects', and Putonghua is thus left floating in 'linguistic limbo' at the tertiary level - it's only value is arguably socioeconomic, and its socioeconomic value is still viewed as less than that of English (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 25).

2.9 Language Standardization in China and Hong Kong

Language standardization is a concept very much relevant to the sociological position of both Cantonese and Putonghua in Hong Kong. The former has generally been considered to be lacking a standardized form, due in most part to its lack of an agreed upon written standard. The latter, on the other hand, is the official language of the People's Republic of China and has a recognized

and agreed upon written and spoken standard. This section will briefly discuss the concept of language standardization and the relevance of this concept to Hong Kong's linguistic situation, particularly the differing statuses of Cantonese and Putonghua in the region. A more in depth discussion on the understanding of the term 'dialect' in Hong Kong is offered in the first paper included in this thesis.

2.9.1 Language Standardization

A language is 'standardized' when a specific linguistic variety is chosen from a group of related linguistic varieties to act as the language of power (government, education, mass media, etc.). This standardized variety can either be one linguistic variety that has been elevated to the position of the standard, or can be a 'new' language that incorporates elements from selected surrounding linguistic varieties (Ammon, 2004). This new standard language will then be encoded either through policy that makes it the legal language of the country or region or by means of dictionaries and grammars, which makes the language the 'correcting' language in society (ibid.). The motivation behind creating a standard language is generally to be found in the desire to consolidate the power of one group in society, or to homogenize linguistic diversity in society with the intention of creating a 'nation with a unifying language.' (Wright, 2007).

The standard language then generally acquires a status reflecting its role as society's commanding language and by dint relegates all of those other linguistic varieties, which are not standardized, as inferior or at best secondary to the standard language (Delarue and Decaluwe, 2015).

Haugen (1972) described the process of language standardization as follows:

1. Selection: A language is selected to be the standard language, which (often purposefully) limits linguistic variation in society.

2. Acceptance: The language is gradually accepted by the public and this is done by spreading the language via the government, education, mass media, etc. The standard language begins to be regarded as *the* language and all other varieties are considered substandard or 'dialects' / 'varieties.'

3. Elaboration: The standard language serves all purposes as required by society, including abstract and intellectual functions.

4. Codification: Norms and rules for the standard language are well established in dictionaries and grammars and may be supported by a national or international academy that 'manages' the development of the language, such as *L'Académie française* for the French language.

Wright (2007) notes that languages can be treated and defined as static systems, standardized for the purpose of nation building. As will be discussed in the below section, this is very much the case with regards to the creation of Putonghua as a 'standard' Chinese language.

2.9.2 The Standardization of a Chinese Language

Based on the above section, which briefly discusses the process of language standardization, the following sections will look at how Putonghua came to be considered *the* Chinese language and

the effect that this might have on other varieties of Chinese, particularly Cantonese in Hong Kong.

This section discusses the standardization of *'a'* Chinese language as, contrary to popular misconception, there are in fact several Chinese languages, which includes both Mandarin and Yue (Cantonese) varieties. Nevertheless, when we speak of 'Chinese' it is often Putonghua that we are referring to.

The below sections analyze the development of 'Standard Chinese' from the foundation of the Republic of China in 1912 up to the present-day People's Republic of China.

2.9.3 The Republic of China (1912-49)

Following the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912 the *Commission on the Unification of Pronunciation (*讀音統一會*, dúyīn tǒngyī huì)* was created in order to create an ancillary phonetic system to aid in the standardization of the pronunciation of Chinese. This was an early attempt at the formal standardization of Chinese (Chen, 1999). In 1919 the *Dictionary of National Pronunciation* (國音字典*, guóyīn zìdiǎn*) was published, which clarified and codified the expected pronunciation of a Standard Chinese. This 'standard' was primarily based on the pronunciation of the Beijing variety of Mandarin, though incorporated pronunciation elements from older varieties of Mandarin and some other varieties of Chinese (Chen, 1999). This dictionary used the phonetic symbols (注音符號*, zhùyīn fúhào*) developed by the *Commission on the Unification of Pronunciation* in 1912 and is still used by the Republic of China (Taiwan) today. In 1932 the Republic of China's *National Language Commission* published the *Vocabulary of National Pronunciation for Everyday Use (*國音常用字彙*, guóyīn chángyòng zìhuì*), which settled on the Beijing variety of Mandarin as the basis for the standardized pronunciation of Chinese (Ramsey, 1987). Throughout this period of pronunciation standardization, a modern vernacular written Chinese was also in rapid development, in contrast with the Classical Chinese that had been used up to this point. This vernacular written standard (known initially as 白話文*, báihuàwén* was also based on Northern Mandarin varieties of Chinese (Chen, 1999). These attempts at creating a 'Standard Chinese' in the first twenty years of the Republic of China reflect the desire of the new, 'modern', Chinese government to create a language that would encourage the development of a particular national identity by means of a unified common language.

2.9.4 The People's Republic of China 1949-Present

Following the communist victory in the Chinese Civil War (1927-1950) the People's Republic of China continued the standardization efforts of the Republic of China, which had retreated to the island of Taiwan. In 1955, 國語 *(gǔoyǔ*, National Language) was officially renamed 普通話 (pǔtōnghuà, Common Speech). In 1956 Putonghua was declared the official language of the People's Republic of China, whilst *Gǔoyǔ* remained the official language of the Republic of China in Taiwan.[17] Putonghua, as the national standard, was codified in the following ways (Chen, 1999):

[17]Both Gǔoyǔ and Putonghua are often translated as 'Mandarin' in English. Tone marks are kept on Gǔoyǔ as it is not a commonly known term in English nor used in an official capacity, like Putonghua is, in English documentation published by the PRC and the Hong Kong Legislative Council. Contemporary Putonghua and *Gǔoyǔ* are fully mutually intelligible though do diverge somewhat in more recently coined lexical items and in pronunciation (Bradley, 1992: 313).

- Phonology: Based on the pronunciation of the Beijing variety of Mandarin, but not incorporating every element of this variety's pronunciation (such as the extensive use of 兒化 (*érhuà*) in Beijing Mandarin).[18]
- Grammar: Based on works published in *báihuàwén*, which in turn is modeled primarily on Northern Chinese varieties, though is not exactly the same as the grammar of Beijing Mandarin.
- Lexicon: Based on the shared vocabulary of Mandarin varieties of Chinese.

As can be seen from the above, the standard language of the People's Republic of China (and the Republic of China) is based on Mandarin varieties spoken in the Northern China, particularly the Beijing variety. It is of course no coincidence that the standard language is based on the language of the region in which the present seat of government of the People's Republic of China is located. Rather, this is a deliberate attempt to make use of a standard language to effect 'nation building' (Wright, 2007).

Throughout the process of language standardization in mainland China, Hong Kong was a colony of the United Kingdom and was therefore somewhat cut off from this process. The below section discusses Cantonese's status in Hong Kong and whether or not it can be considered a 'Standard Language' and indeed, what the 'Standard Language' in Hong Kong might be.

2.9.5 Language Standardization in Hong Kong

Whilst a great deal of language standardization activities took place in mainland China in the early 20th century, little in the way of formal standardization took place in Hong Kong. With regards to the status of Hong Kong's three languages (Cantonese, English, and Putonghua), much of the debate on what status these three languages possess has assumed that Cantonese is a 'dialect' of Chinese (Groves, 2010: 531) and thus the debate has focused primarily on the respective increasing or decreasing statuses of Putonghua and English. One of the primary reasons that Cantonese is considered differently to English and Putonghua is due to its lack of a standardized form, particularly a standardized written form.

The lack of a standardized written form for Cantonese is likewise why 'Chinese' is regularly considered a 'language' and Cantonese a 'dialect' of that language - Cantonese and almost every other Chinese language variety use 'Modern Standard Chinese' for their formal written expression. Groves notes:

> Because of political considerations as well as the unifying influence of their standard written script, two factors which are integral to their very definition of 'language', Chinese is considered one language system (2010: 532).

As the grammar of Putonghua is primarily based on the grammatical norms of *báihuàwén* (as noted in Section 2.9.4) and 'Modern Standard Chinese' is the modern equivalent of *báihuàwén* (Chen, 1999) then it serves to reason that one might equate Putonghua with 'Standard Chinese', as it most closely resembles the written standard used by almost all varieties of Chinese.[19]

[18] 兒化 (*érhuà*) refers to a phonological process that adds r-colouring to syllables in spoken varieties of Chinese.

[19] The Dungan language, spoken primarily in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan, uses the Cyrillic writing system, for instance.

How then, has the creation of a 'Standard Chinese', in the form of Putonghua, affected the status of Cantonese in Hong Kong?

Whilst mostly not directly influencing Cantonese in Hong Kong, in terms of the structural features of the language, the treatment of Putonghua as the standard Chinese language has obviously relegated the status of Cantonese to something 'less than standard'.

Groves (2010: 534-537) draws on Bell's 1976 attempt at creating a sociolinguistic typology to discern a standardized language from other types of (non-standard) language varieties. Grove's interpretation of Bell's typology with regards to Cantonese's status is adapted and summarized below:

- Criteria #1: Standardization: it is generally agreed that Cantonese has not been standardized by any universally recognized, authoritative body.
- Criteria #2: Vitality: Cantonese undoubtedly is a vital language, with approximately 70 million speakers worldwide (Groves, 2010: 534).
- Criteria #3: Historicity: Historicity refers to the sense of identity that a particular group gain by using a particular language. The literature generally agrees that Cantonese is a strong marker of Hong Kong identity.
- Criteria #4: Autonomy: The literature generally agrees that Cantonese is not considered an 'autonomous' language but is rather considered a variety of Chinese.
- Criteria #5: Reduction: Reduction refers to areas in which the language variety may not serve all purposes as required by society (the 'elaboration' described in Haugen's process of standardization on page 41). As Cantonese is treated as the 'mother tongue' in Hong Kong, it has a wide variety of uses from educational to governmental uses. It lacks a standardized written form, however, and it is therefore fair to say that Cantonese suffers from reduction in that it is not used in any formal domain for written expression.
- Criteria #6: Mixture: Mixture refers to how 'pure' the language is from the point of view of its speakers. Cantonese has borrowed a great deal of words from English and other languages, though these words have generally been modified to fit the phonological and grammatical systems of Cantonese (Groves, 2010: 537). Groves notes that this criteria is not essential in the language-dialect distinction (ibid.).
- Criteria #7: *de facto* Norms: These refer to the belief that the language has speakers that are 'good' speakers and 'poor' speakers, i.e., that the language has rules that when followed represent the 'best' version of the language. This belief is certainly held in Hong Kong, where the government has made efforts to promote 'correct' Cantonese and indeed, 'dialect leveling' (Groves, 2010: 537) occurs where speakers of other Chinese language varieties gradually acquire Cantonese after migrating to Hong Kong. Bauer (2000: 37) also points out that Hong Kong is the only Chinese community where a 'non-standard' variety of Chinese has been granted 'quasi-official status.'

Groves concludes that of the seven criteria required by Bell for a linguistic variety to be considered a 'language' and not a 'dialect', Cantonese meets at least four of these criteria -

vitality, historicity, mixture, and *de facto* norms (Groves, 2010: 537). Bell (1976) noted that to be considered a language, according to his typology, five of the above criteria were required - standardization, autonomy, vitality, historicity, and *de facto* norms. Cantonese therefore possesses only three of these criteria, which wouldn't quite qualify it as a language based on Bell's typology, but also would classify it as something more than a dialect, which has only two of the above criteria in this typology. Bell's typology also included eight language types as follows (Bell, 1976: 151):

- Standard
- Classical
- Vernacular
- Dialect
- Creole
- Pidgin
- *Xized Y*[20]
- Interlanguage
- Foreigner talk

Cantonese does not fall neatly into any of these eight categorizes, but rather may fit into several of them. Groves concludes in her 2010 article that in Hong Kong, Cantonese plays a societal role closer to that of a language than most dialects generally do, particularly in terms of its elaborative uses in society (2010: 548). However, as Cantonese currently lacks a standardized written variety, its role in society can currently only fulfill certain criteria that would allow it to be fully recognized as an individual and autonomous language variety - without a written standard, speakers of Cantonese in Hong Kong must rely on Modern Standard Chinese for written communication.

2.10 Diglossia & Triglossia in Hong Kong

The final section of this introductory literature review examines *diglossia* and *triglossia* in the Hong Kong context and explores how Hong Kong's three languages interact at a societal level and the different domains of language use in which they do so. Societies are inherently dialogic by nature (Bakhtin, 1981) and so societies in which two or more linguistic varieties interact, such as Hong Kong, are particularly interesting domains in which to investigate the multi-faceted and multi-layered dialogical interactions of these societies. There has been a tendency in traditional conceptions of sociolinguistic study, to focus more on linguistic form and less on the sociological, sociopolitical, and socioeconomic features that inform the position of languages in multilingual societies. Milroy, however, criticizes this tendency as follows (2001):

[20] For example, Indian English.

> ...as long as the Saussurean dichotomy remains axiomatic, and as long as internal analyses are quite strongly biased in favor of linguistic, rather than social phenomena, the quantitative paradigm will be to that extent impeded in its attempts to explain the social 'life' of language and the social origins of language change. (2001: 531)

This thesis, whilst discussing the linguistic structure of Cantonese and Putonghua (specifically in the first paper included in this thesis), considers the totality of the linguistic situation in Hong Kong, taking into consideration the the sociohistorical situation of the region and considering this alongside the contemporary situation in Hong Kong with regards to language use. It is with this in mind that the following discussion on diglossia is undertaken.

The concept of diglossia was first discussed in 1959 by Charles Ferguson, and since then it has came to play a role of great importance in the study of language variation, domain based language use and in the study of bilingualism. Diglossia can be described as:

> ...a language situation in which two markedly divergent varieties, each with its own set of social functions, coexist as standards throughout a community. One of these varieties is used (in many localized variant forms) in ordinary conversation; the other variety is used for special purposes, primarily in formal speech and writing. It has become conventional in linguistics to refer to the former variety as 'low' (L), and the latter as 'high' (H)." (Crystal, 1987: 43)

Based on the above definition it is clear that Hong Kong exhibits a kind of diglossia, however not that which was originally conceptualized by Ferguson. The above definition makes note of the high-low distinction between the two languages involved in the diglossic situation, Ferguson also noted that the two languages should be linguistically related (1959). In more recent studies subsequent to Ferguson's 1959 publication, the concept of diglossia has often been expanded in the literature to "cover situations of a functional distribution between languages that are genetically distant" (Sayahi, 2017). In societies with diglossia the H-language is viewed as socially more prestigious than the L-language and therefore the status of the L-language is threatened (Froud and Khamis-Dakwar, 2018).

Obviously in the case of Hong Kong, Chinese (in this instance, including both Cantonese and Putonghua) and English are not related and rather are members of the Sino-Tibetan and Indo-European language families respectively. In research done on the linguistic landscape of pre-1997 Hong Kong, English is commonly allocated the position of H-language in Hong Kong, and Cantonese the L-language (Simpson, 2007: 178). This has perhaps changed somewhat following the transfer of sovereignty in 1997 and the position of English as the H-language is now in flux with the emergence of Putonghua as a competing H-language. Cantonese on the other hand remains firmly in the position of L-language (Snow, 2010: 156).

It is reasonable to assert that Hong Kong has undergone different periods of diglossia, with pre-colonial Hong Kong exhibiting what might be referred to as 'Classical Chinese' diglossia - in the sense that Classical Chinese was used as the H-language, whilst local vernaculars were used as the L-language, or language of daily use (Lau, 2005: 23).

The linguistic landscape in colonial Hong Kong was forcibly changed, shifting the status of Classical Chinese and establishing English as the region's H-language.

The situation in the Hong Kong SAR is somewhat more complex however, with the emergence of Putonghua as an additional language within Hong Kong's linguistic repertoire. Whether or not Putonghua can be considered an H-language or an L-language is a matter of some contention - it exhibits features traditionally associated with both H and L-languages.

Pre-colonial Hong Kong exhibits what might be considered 'typical' diglossia in that the H-language, Classical Chinese, was a language not spoken by any significant community within the region and was generally reserved for works of literature, written governmental proceedings and official correspondence.

Local southern varieties of Chinese, including Cantonese and Hakka, were spoken as the vernacular languages of the majority of the population in pre-colonial Hong Kong (Lau, 2005), with Northern Mandarin varieties not being commonly spoken. The diglossic relationship between Classical Chinese and the local vernaculars was, as diglossic relationships go, fairly clean cut with Classical Chinese used in H-domain settings, and the vernacular used in L-domain settings. The colonisation of Hong Kong however complicated this matter considerably.

English was established in Hong Kong by the colonial government as the language of governance, eventually education, and of commerce. In this sense, English replaced Classical Chinese as Hong Kong's H-language. Following the emergence of a vernacular Chinese written language (白話; *báihuà, baak6 waa6*), the situation become further complicated in that Hong Kong now had two competing written languages - English and vernacular written Chinese, which would eventually come to be known as Modern Standard Chinese (現代漢語; *xiàndài hànyǔ, jin6doi6, hon3jyu5*).

Hong Kong's repertoire of languages has become even further complicated from the late 1980s onwards, with the arrival of Putonghua in Hong Kong as a competing third spoken language. Following the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, Hong Kong now balances three spoken languages - Cantonese, English and Putonghua and two written languages, Modern Standard Chinese and English. Written vernacular Cantonese is not used in any official domains, though its presence in Hong Kong's media and its use in less formal literary works is attested (Snow, 2004).

Putonghua exhibits features that may allow it to be considered an H-language in the Hong Kong setting. However, it also lacks certain attributes that would allow it to clearly fall within this category.

Putonghua exhibits several markers of a traditional H-language:

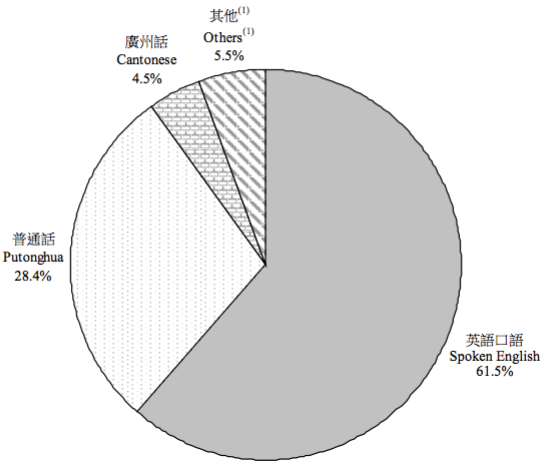
- It is used in typically high-level domains such as education and by the central government;
- It is the national language (the official language of the PRC);
- It is used as the official standard for all written forms of Chinese.

Crucially however Putonghua lacks *prestige*, something generally attributed to a language or variety in a traditionally H-level position, even (and perhaps especially) by non-speakers of the H-language.

Both historical (Bolton et al., 1985, Lai, 2001) and recent studies (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015) generally show that Cantonese is the language in Hong Kong attributed the highest societal value by Hong Kongers, with English generally being considered the most socioeconomically prestigious language. The following chart is taken from the Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, published in June 2014:

Figure 1: Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, June 2014: Use of Language in Hong Kong in 2012.

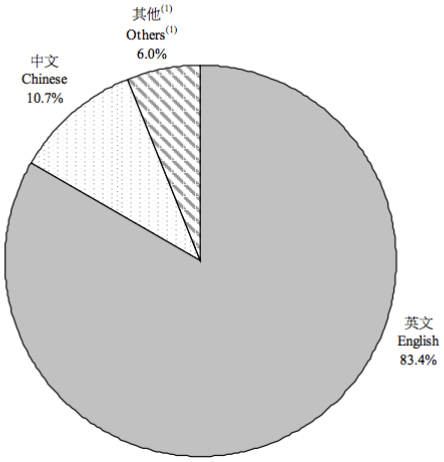
圖 1　按因工作最需要而將會學習／進修的讀講語言劃分的 15 至 65 歲就業人士的百分比
Chart 1　Percentage of employed persons aged 15 to 65 by spoken language which they would learn/further study most for the sake of work



The above chart demonstrates that of those surveyed (approximately 5,600 people), 61.5% of respondents would choose to improve their spoken English for the sake of employment whilst comparatively 28.4% of those surveyed would choose to improve their Putonghua.

Figure 2: Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics, June 2014: Use of Language in Hong Kong in 2012.

圖 2　按因工作最需要而將會學習／進修的書寫語言劃分的 15 至 65 歲就業人士的百分比
Chart 2　Percentage of employed persons aged 15 to 65 by written language which they would learn/further study most for the sake of work



The second chart presents an even stronger picture - 83.4% of respondents answered that for the sake of employment, they would most want to improve their written English whilst only 10.7% of those surveyed responded that they would choose to improve their written Chinese. This result however is not quite as informative as the former as the majority of Hong Kong's population are L1 Cantonese speakers with Modern Standard Chinese as the standard written variety of expression acquired through compulsory education. Nonetheless, respondents' desire

to improve on their English ability with socioeconomic concerns in mind is demonstrated well through both of the above charts.

Whilst public attitudes to Cantonese are in general positive, with regards to the cultural currency given to the language (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015), institutional pressures in Hong Kong have quite regularly tried to diminish the status of Cantonese in favour of promoting greater acquisition of Putonghua. Sun (2002: 303) notes that:

> Visionary scholars in Hong Kong already recognise that Cantonese is no use outside southern China and pockets of Chinese immigrant communities worldwide. Professor Cheng Kaiming of Hong Kong University says, "I'm not quite sure the majority is the choice, you also have to think of the utility of the language. Cantonese is leading us nowhere (Sunday Morning Post, April 6, 2000).

Professor Cheng Kaiming is incidentally a former chairman of the Standing Committee on Language Education and Research (SCOLAR) - an advisory body that this thesis would argue is evidently very much in favour of the proliferation of Putonghua in Hong Kong. It is also unclear as to what makes views such as those espoused by Cheng Kaiming in 2000 as 'visionary' - the assertion that Putonghua should be promoted above Cantonese in Hong Kong is arguably not visionary at all; rather, it is an age-old practice of promoting an economically more dominant language above an apparently less economically 'useful' language.

Snow (2010) creates a distinction between "traditional diglossia" and "modern diglossia" in which the contemporary diglossic situation in Hong Kong would fall under the latter category. In a break away from traditional outlooks on the diglossic situation in Hong Kong, Snow looks at the positions of Modern Standard Chinese, Putonghua and Cantonese, and does not include English in his schema. This is useful in that it creates boundaries between Cantonese and Putonghua, which are often considered registers of the same language in Hong Kong. It is less useful in that in removing English from Hong Kong's linguistic trichotomy, the complications brought about by a trichotomy of interacting languages are ignored - it also does not consider the official policy of 'biliteracy and trilingualism', which this thesis discusses frequently. Nonetheless, a move away from the traditionally defined diglossic situation in Hong Kong with English as the H-language and Cantonese as the L-language is positive in that it acknowledges the ideological tensions between Cantonese and Putonghua. Whilst English and Cantonese may have traditionally been considered to be interacting in a diglossic manner, due to the linguistic differences in English and Cantonese, this form of diglossia deviates so greatly from the traditional concept of diglossia that some might consider the relationship between English and Cantonese to not be diglossia at all, and perhaps superposed bilingualism or similar.

Snow defines modern diglossia as follows:

> Modern diglossia is found in societies that have already undergone essential changes associated with modernisation, especially in the promotion of mass education and literacy...most or all people have a substantial command of both the H and L varieties (unlike most cases of diglossia, in which H is only commanded by a limited elite group)...In modern diglossia, the H variety is a modern standard language rather than an ancient prestige language. It has a substantial body of native

> speakers - in fact, it is officially promoted as the national spoken and written language of a powerful society in close proximity to the diglossic society in question. In fact, the power and appeal of H is based on its utility value as both a written and spoken language - which is, in turn, based squarely on the fact that it serves as the standard language of a powerful...In modern diglossia, H and L are necessarily genetically related. In fact, polar acceptance of H is based not only on its utility value but also on its association with a cultural tradition that the community identifies with to a significant degree. (Snow, 2010: 175)

Snow is therefore proposing an H-L relationship between Putonghua and Cantonese. This hypothesis requires closer scrutiny for the following reasons:

- Putonghua use in Hong Kong has been increasing from the late 1980s onwards, and its utilitarian value in the workplace is indisputable - many customer-facing roles prefer employees who can speak Putonghua, for interaction with speakers from the Mainland who bolster Hong Kong's economy. Its use above and beyond English however is disputable - particularly in 'higher tier' jobs that require English knowledge for international trade and interaction with non-Chinese companies, where English tends to be the lingua franca. It would therefore seem more realistic to place English within a triglossic relationship with Cantonese and Putonghua, as opposed to removing it from the linguistic hierarchy altogether.

- The influence of the linguistic relatedness of Putonghua and Cantonese is overstated in terms of its effects on the attitudes of Hong Kongers towards Putonghua. Although Putonghua and Cantonese are members of the same language family, their linguistic differences are by no means small and furthermore, ideological and cultural reasons cause Putonghua to be viewed as a language of another group of speakers - a language that while useful, is not an inherent feature of the Hong Kong identity. Linguistic convergence does not necessarily suggest closer psychological feelings.

Prior to his work on 'Classical' and 'Modern' diglossia, Snow (2004) identified two 'types' of diglossia that are common not only in the East Asian setting, but more generally within the power structures of a region or community that has two or more competing languages. Snow describes the first of these types as *Sacred Language H* versus *Vernacular L* (2004: 19). In this type of diglossia, the H-language is a 'sacred language' no longer in everyday vernacular usage - for example, Latin in Europe following the fall of the Roman Empire. The status of the H-language is necessarily tied to its historical position - this thesis would call such a language a **legacy language** - a language entirely reliant on its legacy for prestige. Snow postulates that in this type of diglossia, the prestige of the H-language will generally fall as that of the L (vernacular) language rises, as is the case in Europe with the fall of Latin and the rise of national vernaculars. The second type of diglossia Snow identifies is *National H-language* versus *minority L vernacular* (2004: 19). This type of diglossia is fundamentally quite different to Type 1. Type 2 diglossia refers to two or more living or 'in use' languages, one of which is the official or de facto official language of the country or region and the other which is a localized variant. Within the society or community in which the vernacular is used, the H-language may

function as a prestige language used generally in written communication; however, the language is also used as the daily vernacular for another group of people who are generally within closer proximity to the centre of political and cultural power. In Type 1 diglossia, the social role of the L-language is solidified by the fact that the H-language is not used as the spoken language by any significant group of speakers and therefore the L-language is needed by the community. In Type 2 diglossia however, as the H-language is ordinarily the official language of the centre of power, and is used by a community more commonly associated with access to power, the L-language is threatened as its necessity as a spoken language is not guaranteed. Snow's two types of diglossia are summarized below:

Table 14: Snow's Type 1 & Type 2 Diglossia

	Type 1 Diglossia	Type 2 Diglossia
H-Language	**Sacred Language** Not commonly used as a spoken vernacular	**Official Language** Commonly used spoken variety
L-Language	**Local Vernacular** Strong use within the community	**Local Vernacular** Strong use within the community
Outcome	Likely that the L-Language will come to be used increasingly in official domains and eventually replace the H-Language	Threat that the H-Language will gradually replace the L-Language due to the dominance of the H-Language in official domains

If we consider the specific context of Hong Kong, we can place Hong Kong's three languages within the 'Type 1 / Type 2' schema suggested by Snow. It should be noted however, that whilst Snow prefers to consider the diglossic relationship between Cantonese and Putonghua only, this thesis includes English and so considers a triglossic as opposed to diglossic relationship. Although it would be simpler to consider Cantonese and Putonghua alone, as they are both related languages that fall nicely a diglossic paradigm, this would be ignoring the linguistic realities of Hong Kong and not fully taking into account the importance that English still plays within various H-level domains in Hong Kong.

Whilst Cantonese is typically defined as an L-language in typical conceptions of diglossia in Hong Kong, there are also instances in which a specific *variety* of Cantonese can be elevated slightly and perhaps even act in a dichotomous relationship with another variety of Cantonese. Luke (2004: 148) identifies two varieties of Cantonese, which he calls 'High' Cantonese and 'Low' Cantonese. He notes that 'High' Cantonese is characterized:

1. phonologically by a greater concentration and consitency in the use of conservative variants such as initial [ŋ], [kw], [k'w] and the high-falling tone;
2. grammatically by the use of more constructions taken from Classical Chinese;

3. lexically by the use of lexical items taken from Classical Chinese and by the use of a higher concentration of set phrases and idioms.
(Adapted from Luke, 2004: 148)

Yip and Matthews (2017: 62) additionally note that 'High' Cantonese is influenced by grammatical and lexical features of Putonghua and of Modern Standard Chinese.

'Low' Cantonese on the other hand is characterized by the lack of the features described above and its higher use of innovative variants, such as initial [l], [k] and [k']. It could be argued that 'Low' Cantonese is *more* Cantonese than the 'High' variety as it is not as extensively influenced by Classical Chinese and Modern Standard Chinese. On the other hand, it can also be argued that 'High' Cantonese represents a 'purer' form of Cantonese, as it is linked more closely with the Classical Languages. Such debates regularly take place in Hong Kong with regards to the 'proper' use of Cantonese (Lee and Leung, 2012), this specific debate however, is not within the scope of this thesis.

'High' Cantonese tends to be used in slightly more formal domains than the 'Low' variety. Yip and Matthews (2017:62) note for instance its use in public announcements at metro stations. Whether 'High' Cantonese and 'Low' Cantonese should be considered to be interacting in a diglossic manner or not is a matter worth our consideration. However, within the context of the present study, we can say that though the 'High' and 'Low' varieties of Cantonese are certainly used in specific domains and not in others, both possess a status less than that of English and of Modern Standard Chinese due to their lack of a formalized written form. Whether or not Putonghua possess enough socioeconomic and sociopolitical currency to be considered an H-language in Hong Kong is a matter of debate. I have laid out my own proposal for a a way in which we can conceptualize Hong Kong's linguistic situation on the following page. This table uses the model suggested in Snow's 'Type 2 Diglossia' but adds English and thus considers 'Type 2 Triglossia.'

Table 15: Hong Kong's Type 2 Triglossia

H-Languages	**English, Modern Standard Chinese, Putonghua** Based on Basic Law Article 9, English and Chinese are the official languages of Hong Kong. Cantonese is not specifically referenced however it can be asserted with confidence that 'Chinese' most certainly includes Modern Standard Chinese in its written form. Putonghua is also not specifically mentioned within Hong Kong's official language policy; however, it is the official spoken variety of the The People's Republic of China. Both English and Putonghua are commonly spoken languages though not as the languages of daily communication in Hong Kong for the majority of the population. They are however the official / de-facto first language of massive populations in other territories / countries. English is additionally afforded a particularly high status due to its position as a 'global' language.
L-Language	**Cantonese** Cantonese is not specifically mentioned in Basic Law Article 9. It is listed as one of the three spoken varieties to be used in Hong Kong in the 'biliterate and trilingual' policy. It lacks prestige however in the form of a commonly accepted written standard and is rarely used as a written language in formal domains. The slightly more formal variant, 'High' Cantonese does find use in some formal domains, however it too lacks a common written standard and thus it is difficult to describe even 'High' Cantonese as an H-language.
Outcome	There is little possibility of English replacing Cantonese as the primary language of Hong Kong. English had been the language of H-level domains for over a century prior to the transfer of sovereignty in 1997 and due to its linguistic non-relatedness to Cantonese, English remains a language of utilitarian and socioeconomic functionality. Putonghua on the other hand is a close linguistic relative of Cantonese and is the standard written language. Modern Standard Chinese is almost identical in terms of semantics, syntax and lexicon to that of Putonghua. Cantonese, therefore, faces a risk in terms of being replaced by a 'similar' language which is the official language of a much larger territory, a territory that houses the central government to which the Hong Kong Legislative Council answers to. Due to a lack of an accepted written standard, Cantonese is faced with a non-increasing level of official acceptance as an official language as Putonghua grows in status.

The situation regarding the interaction of Hong Kong's three languages is complex - English is related to neither Cantonese nor Putonghua in terms of the language families that they belong to. English most certainly has had and indeed continues to have a profound impact on the way that language is viewed in Hong Kong and thus English must be considered when assessing the ways in which languages interact in Hong Kong. This thesis discusses the emergence of Putonghua as a language of Hong Kong society and asks questions related to the ideological position of Putonghua in Hong Kong, the domains in which Putonghua is used in Hong Kong and crucially, how Hong Kong's official language policy attempts to position Putonghua in Hong Kong.

The final part of this introductory section examines the methodological underpinnings of the three research papers included in this thesis.

3 Methodological Considerations

Two discrete methodologies are used in the three papers included in this thesis in order to offer some explanation as to the current ideological position of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used to analyze policy documents, both from the late-colonial government and from Hong Kong's Legislative Council, post-1997.

In contrast, for an analysis of a collection of job advertisements discussed in the second paper in this thesis, corpus linguistic techniques have been applied in order to offer some conclusion as to how frequently Putonghua is referenced in job advertisements and indeed when it is referenced, the way that it is referred to.

Each paper includes its own discussion of its methodological approach, as would be expected in a research paper. This section, therefore, does not examine how each methodological approach is applied to each research question within each paper. Instead, this section looks more generally at why the methodological approaches I have chosen were selected and how these approaches are carried out. This section also discusses some of the general aims of these two distinct methodological approaches and also considers how they compliment each other.

3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been used for the analysis of documents from Hong Kong's late-colonial and post-colonial governments in order to facilitate a deeper and more qualitative approach to document analysis. This area of study was developed primarily by Norman Fairclough (1995, 2003, 2007, etc.) and Ruth Wodak (1989, 2001, 2003, etc.) and was influenced by the work of other scholars such Michel Foucault (1926-1984) and Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002).

3.1.1 Overview

Critical Discourse Analysis emerged as an interdisciplinary field of investigation from the methodological approach known as *Critical Linguistics* (Fowler et al., 1979). The two terms are now often used interchangeably as their methodological approach and investigative aims are ultimately identical. The majority of more recent work on this methodological approach uses the term Critical Discourse Analysis; this thesis also prefers this term.

As well as Critical Linguistics, CDA undoubtedly draws on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) in the construction of its paradigmatic framework (Haig, 2012: 45). SFL underlines the importance of social context, the cultural and socio-historical situation that leads to the production and development of language, expressed both historically and in terms of individual discourse events. Additionally, whilst some branches of linguistics are concerned with only individual words and sentences, SFL considers longer texts, such as documents, as discrete discourse events (Bloor and Bloor, 2012: 2).

van Dijk (1995: 17-18) describes the general principles of Critical Discourse Analysis as follows:

- A *problem-* or *issue-orientated* rather than paradigm-orientated approach.
- An explicitly critical *approach*, *position*, or *stance* of studying text and speech.

- Inherently *inter-* or *multi-disciplinary* with a focus on the relations between discourse and society.
- The scope of CDA studies are broad and may include analyses of *all levels and dimensions of discourse* - grammar, style, rhetoric, schematic organization, speech acts, paradigmatic strategies, etc.
- There is a particular focus on 'group' relations of *power*, *dominance* and *inequality* and the ways that these are *reproduced* or *resisted* by social group members by means of discourse acts.
- A great deal of CDA work focuses on *underlying*, i.e., not immediately apparent, ideologies located within both spoken and textual discourse. This means that there is a methodological aim of *uncovering* or *revealing* what is implicit, hidden or not made clear within discourse events.
- The ultimate aim of CDA is to uncover discursive means of domination and social control rooted within discourse and to challenge it.
  (Adapted from van Dijk, 1995: 17-18)

Both papers one and three of this thesis take into consideration the above general principles when carrying out their analytical work. Particular emphasis is placed on how policy documents, through seemingly innocuous discourse events, may reinforce ideas of dominance and inequality in Hong Kong.

3.1.2 Criticial Discourse Analysis in this Thesis

The policy documents that this thesis considers are rooted in the socio-historical structures within which they were produced. When examining these documents, it is fundamental that we aware of the context surrounding the creation of these documents and indeed the policies they intend to spell out. We must ask ourselves the purpose of the document, the intended audience, and the intended effect. Additionally, the paradigmatic framework offered by CDA allows us to identify the perpetuation of ideologies that serve to reinforce injustice, danger, suffering, prejudice, etc. (Bloor and Bloor, 2012: 3). In the case of the present study, these ideologies primarily intend to reinforce ideas about language that are perhaps not based on ideals of equality or on the language needs of the population, but rather are influenced by external and often masked agendas and ideologies.

As the previous literature has shown, the languages that one uses, or can use in Hong Kong have serious repercussions for one's social standing and indeed socioeconomic viability. Cantonese is undoubtedly the native language of the region (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 7) and English is the former colonial language and current 'high status' language. However, the use of Putonghua too has been promoted in the region over the last several decades and increasingly more so since the transfer of sovereignty in 1997. We must therefore ask, what status is Putonghua afforded in Hong Kong? Is Putonghua a 'threat' to Cantonese? Can Putonghua possibly be a 'threat' to English? Does the promotion of Putonghua lessen current social inequalities based on language use, or does it perhaps further exacerbate linguistic inequality? It is with these questions in mind that this discursive methodological approach is undertaken.

Hong Kong society is complex in that for over a hundred years, the region was a colony of the United Kingdom and as such, was subject to colonial policy that placed the colonial language, English, at the top of the linguistic hierarchy. Post-colonial Hong Kong is now a society in which issues of identity and issues of language are intrinsically intertwined. CDA methodologies are employed in papers one and three of this thesis in order to investigate the relations between discourse, power, dominance and inequality based on language use. The way in which the proliferation of English in Hong Kong led to an elitist section of English-users and thus disenfranchised non-English speakers has been examined extensively in the literature (Pennycook, 1994, Lin, 1996, Choi, 2010, etc.). This thesis, whilst considering these analyses, instead looks at the emergence of Putonghua in Hong Kong, as a third language competing for space within Hong Kong's linguistic trichotomy. The way in which Putonghua is positioned in Hong Kong reveals interesting and indeed competing ideologies - the most basic of these being, for example, is Putonghua 'native' to Hong Kong? Whilst the answer to this may seem quite simple for some, as will be evidenced using CDA techniques, the emergence of competing ideologies has complicated and perhaps even compromised Hong Kong's prevalent linguistic reality.

Language use in Hong Kong has been subject to immense institutional pressure since the colonization of the region in 1843. With the CDA approach it is possible to isolate these pressures and analyze how they brought about the development of certain policies and why these policies were a result of the social structures of specific time periods in Hong Kong. This approach is beneficial in that, whilst in traditional conceptions of language planning, it is arguable that Hong Kong did not have a focused language policy for much of colonial rule, social structures and institutional pressures led to the establishment of a de-facto language policy throughout colonial rule and beyond. This engendered unequal socioeconomic structures within Hong Kong society and placed constraints on the individual on the basis of language use.

3.1.3 Cultural Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis

The fourth paper included in this thesis is a review article of *Chinese Discourse Studies (2014)* and *Discourses of the Developing World: Researching Properties, Problems and Potentials of the Developing World (2016)* authored by Shi-xu and Shi-xu, Kwesi Kwaa Prah & María Laura Pardo respectively. Both of these volumes suggest that there are specific requirements for carrying out critical discourse work in a Chinese, and more generally, non-Western context. It would seem natural in the context of this thesis, that these 'culturally specific' approaches to critical discourse analysis might serve to inform its investigative work. I discuss in the fourth paper that whilst cultural specificity should absolutely be considered when carrying out a critical discourse analysis study, Shi-xu unfortunately does not substantially address logical issues in his proposed methodological approach.

Shi-xu (2014) argues that current methodologies are inadequate for the analysis of Chinese discourses and that a specific and novel approach is required in order to unravel the cultural complexities and peculiarities of Chinese discourse. Shi-xu observes that CDA, and most other current approaches to discourse analysis, are Western-focused, and biased towards a Western understanding of the world and of human interaction (Shi-xu, 2014: 3). Shi-xu argues that practitioners of CDA are neither culturally nor ethnically neutral and instead maintain 'Westerncentric' ideologies by means of the way in which they undertake CDA studies. Despite this,

Shi-xu, whilst arguing for culturally specific discourse studies, proceeds to group the discursive practices of massive geographic and multi-cultural regions into concise 'blocks' of discursive practice. In particular, Shi-xu regularly asserts the relatedness of African and East Asian discourses.

The reasons that I do not use Shi-xu's methodological approach is discussed in the fourth, review paper included in this thesis.

3.2 Corpus Analysis

At a general level, corpus linguistics involves the study of language as expressed in corpora. Corpora generally contain examples of naturally occurring language and can be in either spoken or written form. Corpus linguistics can be used for a variety of purposes - to study how certain words are used in specific situations, to examine the increase in use of a specific term over a period of time (a longitudinal study) or to compare different patterns of language use, either monolingually or multi-lingually using parallel corpora, etc.

3.2.1 Applied Corpus Studies

Corpus Linguistic methodologies are increasingly being used to inform on matters pertaining not only to language itself, but also to matters surrounding and informed by language - namely society. Baker et al. (2008: 274-275) note that CDA approaches to discourse studies have been supported and informed by corpus linguistics quite regularly, particularly considering that both methodological approaches are relatively young movements in linguistics (2008: 274).

Corpus Linguistic methodologies are particularly useful in an applied setting in that they allows us to analyze a text of any size in a time efficient manner using computer-assisted technologies. Specifically, corpus linguistic methodologies allow us to uncover the frequencies of linguistic patterns in different social settings and also many aspects of routine language use which are not obvious even to native speakers.

Corpus Linguistic methodologies are increasingly being used in a variety of fields of inquiry, including sociology, historical studies, education (particularly language pedagogy) and of course, in applied linguistic research. The way in which one carries out their corpus study is not strictly controlled by any uniformly accepted authority on corpus linguistics. Rather, much like CDA, corpus studies should consider its investigative aims as the primary informant in its methodological development. McEnery and Hardie note that corpus linguistics:

> ...is not a monolithic, consensually agreed set of methods and procedures for the exploration of language. (2012: 1)

The below sections discusses my rationale for using corpus linguistics in the second paper included in this thesis. The below section also discusses how corpus linguistics complements the overall investigative aims of this thesis as a whole.

3.2.2 The Use of Corpus Linguistics in this Thesis

Policy documents tell us much about the way in which the colonial and postcolonial governments aimed and aim to position Putonghua within official policy. They tell us less however about how the ideological position of Putonghua is made manifest through the expression of other types of policy - namely, policy that isn't specifically named as such.

Job advertisements in bilingual or multilingual regions can be valuable forms of 'grassroots' or 'bottom up' policy that indicate how certain languages or varieties are received in society and specifically what their socioeconomic worth is in the domain of the workplace. Selvi (2010) for instance uses job advertisements to offer a critique of the unfair position afforded to L1 English speakers in English language teaching positions. Similarly, Gunnarsson (2009) uses a corpus of job advertisements to assess company attitudes towards Swedish and English.

In order to assess how Putonghua is positioned within job advertisements in Hong Kong and thus offer some insight as to the socioeconomic value of Putonghua in the workplace, a corpus of job adverts has been created and analyzed using corpus linguistic methodologies.

Approximately 20,000 job advertisements were collected and compiled from jobsDB - a leading job portal listing thousands of job advertisements in Hong Kong. A relatively large sample was taken in terms of the number of job advertisements analysed in order to offer an overview on how Putonghua is positioned within job advertisements in Hong Kong and to allow the results obtained from statistical analysis to be considered sound. Corpus linguistic techniques have been used for this in task, in order to be able to analyze a relatively large data set in a time effective manner.

Whilst the same 'deep level' of analysis cannot generally be achieved with corpus linguistic techniques that can be achieved with a CDA approach, it has been concluded that job advertisements are a valid document type for this kind of corpus analysis. The job advertisements collected for analysis were found to be generally formulaic in their composition.

Corpus Linguistic techniques therefore offer an additional dimension to the analytical work undertaken in this thesis and can be viewed as complementary to the CDA approach taken for the analysis of policy documents. Wodak and Meyer (2008) make reference to the 'emergent blend' of CDA, cognitive linguistics and corpus linguistics as a form of complementary analytics that is becoming increasingly recognized by scholars such as Koller and Davidson (2008). Wodak and Meyer do however state:

> What remains unsolved is the apparent contradiction that CDA starts from a complex social problem or phenomenon; cognitive linguistics, however starts from the individual mind, and corpus linguistics from the largely (but not fully!) decontextualized text. (Wodak and Meyer, 2008: 15)

This thesis would argue however that the complementary natures of CDA and corpus linguistics are dependent on the way in which they are being used, and the overall analysis that is being undertaken. If we consider a larger research question, such as this thesis is doing, and use CDA and corpus linguistics as appropriate, for analyses of different kinds of texts within different micro-level research questions, then the macro-level research question can arguably be answered more effectively. The corpus study undertaken in this thesis specifically aims to identify how often Putonghua appears as a named language in job advertisements and when it does appear, the way in which it is referred to. Conducting an analysis with these goals in mind, we are able to offer a suggestion as to the expected Putonghua proficiency required for employment in different positions in Hong Kong.

3.3 Participant Informed Data Collection

This thesis has chosen not to employ a participant informed data collection methodology and instead uses the two text-based methodological approaches outlined above. Ethnographic research regarding language-use in Hong Kong is something that has been used by several researchers (Bolton et al., 1985, Poon et al., 2013, Bacon-Shone et al., 2015, etc.) in order to collect data on people's attitudes towards different languages and also collect figures on the language proficiencies of the Hong Kong population. This thesis instead looks at what might be revealed through analysis of textual discourse, produced by both the Hong Kong Legislative Council in the form of formal and semi-formal policy documentation, and through job advertisements, produced by employers in Hong Kong.

Previous researchers' ethnographic work is referenced frequently throughout this thesis with regards to population numbers and attested language proficiencies in the region. It was felt that further ethnographic work would not greatly impact on the content of this thesis or indeed, add to what is currently known about the 'language situation' in Hong Kong, considering the last sociolinguistic survey of language use and language attitudes was published in 2015 by Bacon-Shone et al.

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The Problematic Definition of 'Chinese' in Hong Kong Basic Law

Abstract

Hong Kong's language policy is codified in Article 9 of its Basic Law, which declares English and a non-specific 'Chinese' as the region's official languages. The definition of English is not particularly troublesome in Article 9; however, formulating a sound definition for the word 'Chinese' is problematic in the Hong Kong context. What does Chinese mean in Hong Kong? Does it refer to Cantonese, Putonghua, written Chinese, all of these or some of these? Hong Kong is a region wherein several languages are used with certain languages generally being used in specific domains and not in others. This situation is complex, far more so than Article 9 in its simplicity would lead us to believe. Using critical discursive methods, this article explores how Hong Kong's Basic Law is inadequate in properly dealing with Hong Kong's complex sociolinguistic situation and offers some suggestion as to how this might be remedied.

1 Introduction

1.1 Hong Kong Basic Law, Article 9

Hong Kong Basic Law, Article 9, identifies Hong Kong's official languages as English and 'Chinese.' Article 9 reads as follows:

> In addition to the Chinese language, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

The definition of English causes little headache for the non-linguist in the positioning of linguistic hierarchies in Hong Kong but it is the definition of 'Chinese' that causes a great deal of contention. If 'Chinese' includes both Cantonese and Putonghua in the Hong Kong context, then are both Cantonese and Putonghua official languages in Hong Kong? Or, in the Hong Kong context, does 'Chinese' generally refer to something else - to spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese? Through exploration of the issues surrounding the problematic definition of the word 'Chinese' in Hong Kong's Basic Law, we can conceptualize the ways in which the vagueness of Article 9 leads to uncertainty regarding the positioning of Hong Kong's official languages. Understanding how Hong Kong's languages are positioned within Hong Kong society allows us to expose the ways in which language policy can be used to engender linguistic manipulation in society. This paper examines the way in which the vagueness of Hong Kong's language policy might be used to position languages in a particular way and offers suggestion as to how this vagueness might be rectified in order to offer a transparent and sustainable Language Planning and Policy (LPP) approach for Hong Kong.

1.2 Language Planning & Policy

The ideological position of a language within society is shaped in part by two competing forces. From above, state sanctioned language planning and policy (LPP) dictate the way that those in power feel a language should be treated in society. Language planning bodies decide the way in which languages should be used by the public and the status that these languages should be afforded in society. From below, the way that language is viewed in society tends to be based on how it is perceived by the speakers themselves, with varying degrees of influence from language planning and policy, depending on how effective that planning and policy is. In order to avoid ignoring the multifaceted interactions within policy creation and implementation we should be careful to avoid overgeneralizing this top down/bottom up dichotomy (Johnson, 2013: 108). LPP can operate at different levels within society and can appear top down or bottom up relative to the position of those that engender or are affected by this LPP activity;"...the determination about whether or not a particular policy is top-down or bottom-up depends on who is doing the creating and implementing and in which layer" (ibid.). This paper primarily examines top-down policy enacted and maintained by the Hong Kong Legislative Council. As this policy is aimed at Hong Kong society as a whole, the policy examined in this paper can be considered of a top-down nature.

Promulgated on October 31, 2000, Articles 2 and 3 of the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language*, make Putonghua the standard variety of 'Chinese' in the People's Republic of China. This law bestows on Putonghua the highest possible status a language can have in society - the official language and the regulated and enforced standard in almost all domains of language use. This law is enforced within the PRC and affects all regions under its jurisdiction with the exception of the two Special Administrative Regions, Hong Kong and Macau. Both Hong Kong and Macau have their own sets of laws and ordinances that define their legal systems and various aspects of social and cultural life.

Issues of language and identity are given a great deal of attention in literature relating to language use in Hong Kong. The previous literature tends to focus on issues relating to the implementation of languages into the Hong Kong curriculum (Cheung-Shing and Yuen Fan, 1996, Adamson and Lai, 1997, Choi, 2003, Evans, 2008, etc.), or on the position of a language within a particular domain of language use (Bolton and Luke, 1985, Lin, 1997, Poon, 2004, etc.). The present study differs in that it does not examine the effectiveness of implementation or the successfulness of the use of a particular language within a specific domain but rather, critically examines *why* Article 9 of Hong Kong's Basic Law is worded in the way that it is. Is the word *Chinese* in Article 9 used for a particular reason and if so, what is this reason?

2 Theoretical Background & Methodological Approach

2.1 Overview

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) techniques are used in this paper in order to offer a qualitative approach to the analysis of Hong Kong Basic Law, Article 9. CDA serves as a useful tool in the analysis of policy in that it emphasizes the critical aspect of the investigation itself. As opposed to simply looking at the document and taking what is written at 'face value', the CDA approach

encourages its user to challenge the prevalent dichotomies to be found in policy documents and to, if appropriate, refute them. Additionally, proposing alternatives to the notions set out in policy documents, whether overt or covert, is a fundamental aspect of CDA (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

2.2 Methodological Approach

2.2.1 A CDA Approach to Hong Kong Basic Law, Article 9

In this paper I have identified the word *Chinese* as a problematic term used in Hong Kong Basic Law, Article 9. The use of this term is based upon the idea of a unified Chinese language and is an ideological stance that is difficult to displace both in Hong Kong and in Greater China. Understanding why this term is used in Hong Kong's Basic Law and why this term is problematic in contemporary Hong Kong requires a thorough investigation into the factors that have contributed to the understanding of 'Chinese' as a single language. It is for this reason that the Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak, 2008) has been selected as the specific style of Critical Discourse Analysis to be embedded into the methodological framework that underpins this paper.

The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) is a form of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that seeks to identify specific social problems in given contexts and formulate an analytical approach unique to each individual context. The DHA envisions discourse as interrelated acts, often manifested in the form of texts (Wodak and Fairclough, 1997). Instead of simply applying a 'grand theory', an individualistic approach is taken in the identification and analysis of problems which by their very nature are individualistic and unique (Wodak, 2008: 63). As Hong Kong's language situation is unique it is necessary to tackle any emerging issues from the discourse with a tailored approach specific to Hong Kong and to the problem itself. An investigation into the way in languages are positioned within Hong Kong's linguistic trichotomy should be multifaceted in its methodological approach.

Prior to beginning the analysis Article 9, it is first necessary to identify the social problem or issue that is to be examined through this discursive approach and to frame this within a societal setting. Hong Kong's language policy has been a contentious issue since the establishment of the region as a colony of the United Kingdom in 1841. Despite the transfer of sovereignty to the People's Republic of China on July 1st 1997, the issue of language policy in Hong Kong is far from resolved. Language use in Hong Kong and the policy that aims to dictate this use has long been seen as a way in which relative language power is expressed and language domains are purposefully, even forcibly demarcated. It is for this reason that the first step taken in framing the sociopolitical background for Article 9 is to examine how Cantonese and Putonghua are understood in the Hong Kong context. Whether or not these varieties constitute individual languages or are 'dialects' of a parent 'Chinese language' is crucial in understanding the reasons behind the wording of Article 9.

After establishing *why* Article 9 is worded the way that it is, the Article itself is then analyzed and its problematic nature is discussed with reference to how its vagueness has led to the perpetuation of ideas about language in Hong Kong that are neither based on truth nor on equality. Finally, a potential remedy to the vagueness of Article 9 is presented in the final section of this paper.

2.2.2 Limitations of a CDA Approach

A Critical Discourse Analysis approach was selected for the current paper as it was felt that whilst some linguistic methods limit their discussion to the description of text and talk, CDA emphasizes the relation of text and talk to the societies in which they are produced (van Dijk, 1995). The benefits of a CDA approach are discussed above, this section instead looks at some of the potential issues inherent in a CDA approach. One of the primary issues with CDA as a methodological approach is the burden that is placed on the researcher in the generation of their hypothesis. CDA relies on the researcher identifying a societal problem and investigating this by means of investigating discourse generated within and around this problem. This in itself presents a methodological issue - if the researcher ineffectively identifies this societal problem, or, the researcher manipulates the process to easily uncover findings that they *want* to find, then the methodological rigor of the research project is at risk (Frantz, 2003: 1).

Breeze (2011: 520) summarizes some of the key issues inherent in CDA work and it is with this summary in mind that some limitations of CDA are considered in relation to the present study.

- CDA is fundamentally defined by its **political** aims. There is usually some sort of intent to expose inequality, suffering, or injustice in a particular society. This therefore means that CDA-based studies are rarely neutral and ordinarily intend to uncover a societal problem and who may be to 'blame' for this problem. This particular study has taken care not to overly politicize the issue at hand, though does acknowledge that language and in particular, language policy is inherently political. I have taken particular care not to over generalize the respective intents of the PRC's Central Government nor the Hong Kong Legislative Council and instead have looked at how specific ideas about language may have taken root in Hong Kong and more generally, China.

- Breeze notes that "CDA practitioners have frequently been accused of using "impressionistic" methodology for analyzing text" (2011: 520). In order to avoid drawing "impressionistic" conclusions this study has taken particular care to avoid analyzing Basic Law, Article 9 with a fully realized conclusion in mind. It would be fairly easy to assume that Article 9 is worded in a specific way in order to push forward a particular sociopolitical ideology - i.e., a hegemonic China (to which Hong Kong belongs) with one language. This study has noted how the way that language is viewed in China has likely had an effect on the wording of Basic Law, Article 9. In other words, this study has noted that Basic Law may be a *reflection* of society as opposed to purely a way in which to shape linguistic opinions *in* society.

- As CDA has primarily been used to research the ways in which discourse can be used to maintain inequality in society, some CDA studies may focus on the negative and propagate a deterministic vision of society (Breeze, 2010: 521). This study has instead considered that the discourse in question, Basic Law Article 9, offers a view into the conceptualization of the ideas of 'language' and 'dialect' in Hong Kong and how Article 9 may have been written as a response to this conceptualization. This study does, however, note that Article 9 *could* be manipulated to further the political interests of certain groups in society.

It is with the above potential limitations in mind that this study undertakes its analytical work. The following sections discuss the idea of 'language' in Hong Kong and how these ideas interact with the region's expression of its official languages under Basic Law.

3 Language or dialect?

3.1 Overview

The way in which a language variety is viewed and treated in society depends on the ideological burden attached to the variety. This burden can be the result of policy aimed at assigning specific roles to certain language varieties within society (Weinstein, 1980: 56), or can be the result of beliefs relating to specific languages based on the wider socio-political context (Barcelos, 2003: 237).

In the case of Hong Kong, English has a high sociolinguistic status due to the lingering influence of colonial policy (Boyle, 1997: 169) and the current perception of English as a 'global language' (Melitz, 2016: 584). Hong Kong's Basic Law, Article 9, lists English and a non-specific 'Chinese' as the official languages of Hong Kong. Whilst on the surface this may suggest that English and Chinese are being afforded parity in an official context, the vague definition of 'Chinese' instead undermines the complexity of the interplay between the different Chinese language varieties and the unequal sociopolitical power of certain Chinese language varieties.

Whilst 89.1% of the population declare Cantonese as their native language (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 16), Cantonese has no *official* status under Hong Kong Basic Law. Putonghua likewise has no official status and it is rather a sanitized and ideologically unburdened 'Chinese' that is given official status alongside English.

3.2 Naming Hong Kong's Official Languages in Policy

The most fundamental issue surrounding the naming of Hong Kong's official languages in policy is the conceptualization of what constitutes a language and what does not. Theoretically, *all* communication can be considered 'language'. Sapir (1921: 8) defined language as "a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols." This would cover all utterances and expressions of ideas by means of spoken communication. As we know however, despite all communication having the potential to be considered 'language', not all communication is considered socioeconomically equal (Bourdieu, 1982). We quite commonly hear reference to '**the** Chinese language' as a monolithic entity, including all varieties of Chinese, both spoken and written, with any variation from 'the standard' simply defined as 'non standard' or peculiar to a particular *kind* of 'Chinese.' Defining Chinese in this way is usually not the result of any kind of intent to exclude varieties other than the standard but rather simply out of habit (DeFrancis, 1986: 55). It is convenient to have a 'Chinese language' to refer to and many expect this nomenclature to be used in both popular and academic discourse.

This conceptualization of Chinese is not particularly helpful in that it places at the top of the hierarchy imagined standards - written Modern Standard Chinese, Putonghua or Mandarin - and places all other varieties beneath this standard in terms of their socioeconomic worth.

The *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* (2003: 109), for instance, uses the term 'Standard Chinese (Beijing)' to refer to the idea of what constitutes a standardized Chinese. The idea that any of the aforementioned varieties are somehow standard in the sense of being inherently 'correct' is not historically justifiable. Rather evidence shows that these varieties are only standard due to their sociopolitical position. Article 9 of Hong Kong's Basic Law, which names neither Putonghua nor Cantonese as an official language and instead simply identifies 'Chinese' as an official language is beneficial for the Hong Kong Legislative Council on two fronts:

1. the political connotations of 'Chinese' are convenient for the fostering of pan-Chinese identity whereas Cantonese and Putonghua in Hong Kong could potentially be perceived as markers of separate identities

2. 'Chinese' is commonly accepted as *the* language to which both Cantonese and Putonghua belong and conveniently also includes the writing system, which is standardized and based on the language varieties of Northern China.

As Chinese is commonly referred to as a *language* and indeed is identified as such in Basic Law Article 9, does that then imply that Cantonese and Putonghua are *dialects* of the 'Chinese Language'? We can examine evidence that indicates that, at least in the case of Putonghua, it possesses the sociopolitical currency that would make it a 'language.' The Constitution of the PRC noted in 1982 that the intention of the state is to "promote Putonghua in the whole country" (Blachford, 2004: 99). This is reiterated in the *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language* in 2000, Article 2 of which states:

> For purposes of this Law, the standard spoken and written Chinese language means Putonghua (a common speech with pronunciation based on the Beijing dialect) and the standardized Chinese characters.

In the context of Mainland China therefore, we can say that Putonghua is afforded the status of 'official language' and we can further say that "standard spoken and written Chinese" refers to Putonghua. As this law does not apply to Hong Kong, Hong Kong is free to define its own language policy and has done so in Article 9 of its Basic Law, which states:

> In addition to the Chinese language, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

The problematic nature of Article 9 is discussed in detail in Section 5. Its vagueness causes problems both for policy makers in Hong Kong in terms of delimiting Hong Kong's official languages and for the status of the languages in question: are both Cantonese and Putonghua official languages in the Hong Kong context and if not, what are they?

3.3 Ambiguity in Language Policy

Ambiguity in language policy can be used by policy makers in order to leave policy open to interpretation and thus malleable to manipulation. Bamgbose (1984: 117) notes that lack of

specificity in policy can be used by governments as a way to avoid implementation of policy. In the case of Hong Kong, rather than avoiding implementing policy, Article 9 allows a *flexible* interpretation of what exactly 'Chinese' means in the context of Hong Kong. Shohamy (2005: 49-50) notes that language policies around the world can differ in terms of their scope and type. Some are extremely detailed and note not only which languages are being referred to but also *how* these languages should be used within society. Other language policies are conversely more vague and state only a "general principle" (Shohamy, 2005: 49) with regards to how specific languages should be used within society and what these languages are. Hong Kong's language policy arguably falls into the latter category, with both English and 'Chinese' declared the official languages of the region, without explicit explanation as to what English and perhaps more importantly, 'Chinese', refers to.

It might be tempting to suggest that Chinese is the macro-language to which both Putonghua and Cantonese belong, and Putonghua and Cantonese are on equal footing as sub-varieties of this macro-language. To do so, however, would ignore the the significantly different statuses of Putonghua and Cantonese. Putonghua is the official language of the People's Republic of China, the medium of instruction in the majority of schools in China and the most commonly studied variety of Chinese by L2 speakers. Cantonese on the other hand is not protected by any specific policy and is commonly referred to, both in popular and academic discourse, as a 'dialect' of Chinese (Snow, 2004). Whilst Cantonese is generally used as the medium of instruction for at least some of the schooling of Hong Kong students, its status in that domain is certainly not guaranteed, with some schools now opting to use Putonghua for traditionally Cantonese-medium subjects (Tam, 2011).

3.4 Language or Dialect?

One of the key issues that confuses what constitutes a language in Hong Kong is whether or not Putonghua and Cantonese are languages themselves, or dialects of a parent 'Chinese language'. The very ideas of 'dialect' and 'language' are arguably Western innovations imported into China in the 20th century. Mair (1991) and Keeler (2008) discuss the issues surrounding the problematic definition of the word 方言 (fāngyán, fong1jin4) *dialect* in detail and offer some explanation as to how this problematic definition has led to the establishment of unequal hierarchies for the various varieties of Chinese.

The term 'dialect' tends to be used to refer to sub-varieties of a single language (Ferguson, 1959: 325). How exactly one language variety gains the status of 'language' and another is labeled as a 'dialect' but not a language in its own right has little to do with language structure and more to do with the ideologies surrounding language and the policies that dictate which status a language should be given. Using the word 'dialect' can suggest inferiority to the 'language' to which it is a 'variety' of and thus lead to suggestions of 'non-standard-ness'. Kloss (1967 and 1978) put forward two criteria for defining what makes a linguistic variety a language and not a dialect. The first of these is defined by Kloss as *abstand*, meaning 'distance.' Distance refers to the idea that in order for a language variety to be considered a language in its own right and not a dialect of another language, it must differ sufficiently in terms of language structure. The second of these criteria is the concept of *ausbau*, which means 'building up' or 'consolidation.' Ausbau refers to the need for the production of literary works in order to provide legitimization

for the language variety by means of an emerging written standard. In the case of the Chinese languages, most possess *abstand* but lack substantial *ausbau* - most varieties of Chinese aren't written down extensively or possess a widely accepted standardized written form. Discussing how the status of 'language' is bestowed upon a particular language variety, Joseph (2006: 26) notes that, crucially:

> We are dealing here with the politics of knowledge, views on which have shifted massively over the course of the last century. The modern anthropological view takes a culture's own shared traditions of belief about itself as the primary reality. It may be 'mythical' in the sense that it contradicts documented facts of invokes supernatural events and beings, but if the people treat it as truth and organize their lives, thought and identity around it, that alone makes it real in a more significant sense than the analysis that sees it as mythical. In the grand scheme of things, what does it matter if a few thousand linguists are convinced that Serbian and Croatian are the same language, or that Chinese is a family of distinct languages, when umpteen millions believe the opposite, and it's on their lives that the question has a direct impact?

This is perhaps the most fundamental concept when speaking of the statuses of the Chinese languages, both in Greater China and in the diaspora. Whilst as linguists, we may agree that the Chinese languages arguably represent a family of related yet distinct languages, the fact remains that the Chinese people themselves, by in large, view Chinese as *one* language. A widespread Chinese cultural trope holds that the 'Chinese language' has a mystical origin that unifies the people, in terms of a shared Chinese identity. This makes some people sensitive to the notion that Cantonese, and any other Chinese variety other than the 'standard language' could be considered languages in their own right. Discussing this matter, So quotes Siu (1981):

> Foreigners love to exaggerate the degree of divergence both between Chinese speech and writing, and among the dialects. Actually, all these linguistic varieties share the same origin and, therefore, problems caused by the divergence among them should not be too difficult to overcome. So it is not appropriate to equate the problems of learning a foreign language to problems caused by such divergence.' (translated from Siu, 1981: 37). (So, 1989: 37)

So is quick to point out however that the assumption that the degree of divergence among the 'Chinese dialects' would not be great because they are related needs to be challenged because it leads to an unwarranted expectation that a speaker of one Chinese variety should have no problem communicating in another variety (So, 1989: 37). If the target language is related to the L1, then what they share will make the acquisition of the L2 easier (Ringbom 2006: 8), however in the case of Hong Kong, there is the widespread belief that the standard written variety, Modern Standard Chinese, is not an L2 (Groves, 2008: 14). (L1 refers to the 'mother tongue' or the native language of the speaker. L2 refers to a 'foreign language' but more generally, a second language.) In the case of Hong Kong, it would be controversial and indeed not entirely accurate to refer to Putonghua as a 'foreign language'.

Modern Standard Chinese aligns closely with spoken Putonghua, both varieties are based on the Chinese varieties used in Northern China (Zhang and Yang, 2004: 145, Snow, 2004: 192).

A sentence written in Modern Standard Chinese in Hong Kong will be fully comprehensible to an L1 speaker of Putonghua or another variety of Mandarin. A sentence written in Cantonese on the other hand, would be fully comprehensible only to those that speak Cantonese or have some training in written Cantonese. Whilst Putonghua (and other varieties of Mandarin) may differ somewhat from Modern Standard Chinese in terms of lexical items and minor grammatical constructions, the distance between spoken Putonghua and written Modern Standard Chinese is small, whereas the difference between spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese is relatively large. So compares the level of difference between Cantonese and Putonghua to that of the differences between German and English, both related, West-Germanic languages. Whilst this comparison may be a useful starting point for illustrating that the varieties of Chinese differ in terms of linguistic structure, it would be somewhat disingenuous to suggest that the Germanic languages and the Chinese language varieties are parallel in terms of comparable sociolinguistic situations. The 'major' Germanic languages are generally *national languages* e.g., German is the language of Germany, Dutch of the Netherlands, Swedish of Sweden, etc. None of the Chinese language varieties, except from Putonghua, can claim such sociopolitical backing.

In terms of linguistic heritage, Cantonese is most closely related to Old (Southern) Chinese and Middle Chinese (Bauer and Benedict, 2011: xxxix) and as such has a markedly distinct ancestor from that of Putonghua, which is a descendant of Old and Middle Mandarin. Unlike Mandarin varieties, Cantonese is not influenced by languages such as Mongolian and Manchu but rather is influenced by the Tai languages. We can therefore say with certainty that on a historical level, Cantonese and Putonghua belong to different branches of the Chinese language 'family tree.' Linguistically we can therefore consider Cantonese and Putonghua independent language varieties. Whether or not the fact that we as linguists can assert that Putonghua and Cantonese are independent language varieties matters to the public at large however, is a matter of debate.

Hong Kong's Basic Law, in its present state, chooses not to identify the language or languages that 'Chinese' refers to and instead simply uses the term 'Chinese'. The following section discusses in detail the structural differences between Putonghua and Cantonese and illustrates why referring to them together as simply 'Chinese' in a legal context is both disingenuous and, in practical terms, not useful.

4 Structural Differences between Putonghua & Cantonese

Putonghua and Cantonese are both Sinitic languages and are both written using Chinese characters. Both share a great deal in terms of syntactic and pragmatic structure and in terms of lexical inventory. Both also diverge greatly in terms of syntax, pragmatics, lexis and phonology to the extent that they are not mutually intelligible. This section provides an overview of these structural differences and illustrates why referring to both as simply 'Chinese' understates the need for recognition of the uniqueness of both Putonghua and Cantonese in Hong Kong Basic Law.

4.1 Phonological Differences

4.1.1 The Tonal Systems

Cantonese and Putonghua differ quite extensively in terms of their phonological inventories. Perhaps the most immediately noticeable difference between the two language varieties is their different tonal systems. It is commonly accepted that Putonghua (and other Mandarin varieties) have four distinct tones and one 'neutral tone' (Yang, 2015: 4). The Cantonese tonal system, however, is more complex:

> Exactly how many tones there are in Cantonese depends on how the system is analysed. According to the traditional classification, Cantonese has nine distinct tones whereby the checked syllables are considered as belonging to categories to be contrasted with other tonal categories. However, the distinct tones before unreleased consonants are now widely seen as abbreviated counterparts of the three level tones which occur in other contexts. Only six tones are clearly distinctive in Hongkong [*sic*] Cantonese..." (Matthews and Yip, 1994: 21)

Putonghua and Cantonese also differ in the way that contextual tonal changes are realized. In Putonghua this is generally called *tone sandhi*. In Putonghua *tone sandhi* occurs when a third tone (the 'dipping' tone) is followed by another third tone. In this situation, the first third tone will change to a second tone (the 'rising tone') to accommodate the second third tone and facilitate easier pronunciation (Yang, 2015: 11).[1] Cantonese also possesses contextual tonal changes; however, these changes are not generally considered to be *tone sandhi* as they are irregular in their occurance and rather depend on "a number of morphological and semantic factors" (Matthews and Yip, 1994: 23).

4.1.2 Syllable Structure

Traditional Chinese analysis of syllable structure in the Chinese languages describes the Chinese syllable of being composed of an initial, a final and a tone (Yang, 2015: 3). An initial is not obligatory in neither Mandarin nor Yue (Cantonese) varieties of Chinese (ibid.). Below is an example of the syllable structure for the same word in both Putonghua and in Cantonese:

香 (Fragrant) ($x_{[initial]}$ + $iang_{[final]}$ + first tone = xiāng) (Putonghua)
香 (Fragrant) ($h_{[initial]}$ + $oeng_{[final]}$ + first tone = hoeng1) (Cantonese)

Syllables can be constructed in various other combinations of vowels and consonants in both Mandarin and Yue varieties. The below table illustrates all possible combinations of syllable structure in both language varieties:

[1] This explanation has been simplified for the purposes of this paper, there are various phonemic analyses of *tone sandhi* that go into greater detail regarding this phenomenon such as Chao (1968) and Hu (1987).

Table 1: Initial & Final Combinations in Putonghua & Cantonese

Element	Pattern	Example in Putonghua	Example in Cantonese
One central vowel	V	阿 (ā)	阿 (aa3)
One central vowel & one semi-vowel	V+V	愛 (ài)	愛 (oi3)
One central vowel & final consonant	V+C	安 (ān)	安 (on1)
One initial consonant & one central vowel	C+V	馬 (mǎ)	馬 (maa5)
One initial consonant & two vowels	C+V+V	好 (hào)	好 (hou2)
One initial consonant, one central vowel & final consonant	C+V+C	滿 (mǎn)	滿 (mun5)
Nasal consonant	C	*Not possible*	唔 (m4)

As we can see from the above table, syllables are formed in generally the same manner in both Putonghua and Cantonese, though Putonghua lacks a single nasal consonant syllable. The inventories of initials and finals are quite different for the two languages, however. It is generally accepted that Putonghua has 21 initials and 35 finals (Třísková, 2011: 100). Cantonese on the other hand similarly has 21 initials but possesses a greater number of finals with 53 in total (Ng and Kwok, 1999: 797).[2]

There are also further phonological differences between Putonghua and Cantonese, such as unreleased stops in the final position in Cantonese, a feature that Putonghua lacks (Matthews and Yip, 1994: 15). Full discussion of these differences are not within the scope of the current paper; however, discussion on these differences can be found in Mok 2009 and Gao et al., 2000, amongst others.

4.2 Syntactic Differences

Syntactically Putonghua and Cantonese share much in common; however, they also deviate from each other in some of their grammatical constructions. Differences in syntactic structure between the two languages is on the whole uncommon, though when they do occur they tend to be more linguistically complicated (Zhang, 1998: 1461). Matthews and Yip compare this level of divergence to that of the differences between French and Spanish or Swedish and German (1994: 5). Both language varieties are generally subject-verb-object (SVO) in terms of their typological categorization, though both languages will also accept subject-object-verb (SOV) word order in limited situations.This is demonstrated in the use of the 把 (bǎ) construction in Putonghua, a preposition or *light verb* used before a direct object and verb that carries the sense of of the direct object being 'used up' or 'changed in form' as a result of the verb. Cantonese has a similar construction, the 將 (zoeng1) construction, though it is used less frequently in Cantonese, compared to the very common 把 construction (Yang, 2013: 11). For example, in Putonghua:

我把手機放在這裡
Wǒ bǎ shǒujī fàng zài zhèlǐ
I [light verb] mobile phone put at-PREP here
I put my mobile phone here.

...and in Cantonese:

[2]How many initials and finals both Putonghua and Cantonese possess is a matter of some debate, for the purpose of this paper however this debate is of no great consequence, we can simply say that the number of consonant and vowel combinations possible in the two languages are different.

我將個手提電話擺喺度
ngo5 zoeng1 go3 sau2 tai4 din6 waa6 baai2hai2 dou6
I [light verb] CL mobile phone put at-PREP here
I put my mobile phone here.

Summarized below are some of the most salient and perhaps most well known syntactic differences between Putonghua and Cantonese:

4.2.1 Placement of Adverbs

In certain situations the placement of the adverb within a sentence differs in Putonghua and Cantonese, an example of this being in the phrase "You go first" which would be rendered in Cantonese as:

你行先
nei5 hang4 sin1
you go first
You go first.

...and in Putonghua as:

你先走
nǐ xiān zǒu
you first go
You go first.

4.2.2 Comparative Sentences

The construction of the comparative sentence in Putonghua and Cantonese is perhaps one of the best known syntactic differences between the two language varieties. In Cantonese the sentence "I am taller than you" would be rendered as:

我高過你
ngo5 gou1 gwo3 nei5
I tall more you
I'm taller than you.

...and in Putonghua as:

我比你高
wǒ bǐ nǐ gāo
I than you tall
I'm taller than you.

Comparative sentences in both Cantonese and Putonghua will both generally follow the above structures with little variation. Both constructions would likely be understandable to a speaker of either language variety, particularly speakers of Cantonese who use written Modern Standard Chinese and are thus familiar with the syntactic structures of Putonghua. The Cantonese construction would be bizarre yet understandable to a speaker of Putonghua, at least in written form.

4.2.3 Direct & Indirect Objects

The position of direct and indirect objects in Cantonese and Putonghua sentences also diverge. The sentence "Give me a pen" would be rendered in Cantonese as follows:

> 畀一枝筆我
> bei2 jat1 zi1 bat1 ngo5
> Give one CL pen me
> *Give me a pen.*

...and in Putonghua:

> 給我一枝筆
> gěi wǒ yī zhī bǐ
> Give me one CL pen
> *Give me a pen.*

It is important to note here that whilst syntactically Cantonese possesses these differences from Putonghua and other Mandarin varieties, Modern Standard Chinese, the written standard in Hong Kong, follows the syntactic structure of Putonghua. Written Cantonese, following the syntactic 'rules' of spoken Cantonese, is generally used only in informal domains.

Other than the few salient examples given above, Putonghua and Cantonese differ relatively little in terms of their syntax; though, as Matthews and Yip note:

> Because phonology and vocabulary present the most striking contrasts, the differences in grammar, often relatively subtle, tend to be overlooked. (1994: 5)

Matthews and Yip provide one such example of this subtle difference with the indirect passive construction, in which the passive verb retains an object in Cantonese but can be omitted in Putonghua (1994: 5):

> 我被人偷嘢架車。[3]
> ngo5 bei6 jan4 tau1je5 gaa3 ce1.
> I by person steal-PFV CL car.
> *I've had my car stolen.*
>
> 我被 (人) 偷了車子。
> wǒ bèi (rén) tōu le chēzi.
> I by (person) steal- PFV car
> *I've had my car stolen.*

In the Putonghua sentence, the agent of the action can be omitted if it is already known or is implied by the context, in Cantonese such an omission is not possible. This kind of subtle difference illustrates that besides the syntactic constructions that are very obvious, there are also smaller (yet important) differences present in seemingly identical constructions across the two languages.

[3] Chinese characters added to these examples which were not present in Matthews and Yip's original examples. The Jyutping system of romanisation is also being used as opposed to Matthew and Yips' modified Yale system.

4.3 Lexical Differences

Besides the phonological differences between Putonghua and Cantonese, perhaps the most striking difference between the two language varieties is their vastly different lexical inventories. Tang and van Heuven (2007) conducted a large-scale survey of mutual intelligibility and similarity across fifteen varieties of Chinese and collected Lexical Similarity Indices for all pairs of their selected Chinese varieties. Lexical similarity measures the degree to which two language varieties share a vocabulary, with a lexical similarity of 1 denoting 100% similarity. Tang and Van Heuven (2007) found that based on their survey of mutual intelligibility, the Beijing variety of Mandarin (on which Putonghua is primarily based) and the Guangzhou variety of Cantonese have different Lexical Similarity Indices based on the direction in which intelligibility is being attempted. The mutual intelligibility score for Beijing Mandarin speakers listening to Guangzhou Cantonese is .240, meaning Beijing Mandarin speakers identified 24% of the Cantonese lexical items they heard in the experiment as being the same as or similar to their own vocabulary. Interestingly, the Lexical Similarity Score for Guangzhou Cantonese speakers listening to Beijing Mandarin speakers is much higher at .548, roughly 55%.[4] This is most likely because almost all speakers of any Chinese language variety have some exposure to the standard language, Putonghua, which is "almost identical to the Beijing dialect" (Tang and Van Heuven, 2007: 231). Though Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong may have less exposure to Putonghua as a spoken variety, the predominance of Modern Standard Chinese as the standard written variety of Chinese in Hong Kong makes it likely that many speakers of Cantonese in Hong Kong would likewise be able to recognize a great deal of Mandarin vocabulary, though perhaps not quite as much as Cantonese speakers in Guangzhou who are exposed to Putonghua as a language of instruction in schools and as the predominant language of mass-media.

Whilst it is difficult to give an exact figure for the degree of lexical divergence between Putonghua and Cantonese, it is possible to give some salient examples of differences in lexicon by comparing some examples of lexical items from both languages. The below table is comprised of twenty words selected from 'Swadesh lists' for Putonghua and Cantonese. Swadesh himself comprised a list of 265 words, later reduced to 165 words for the purpose of historical-comparative linguistic studies (Swadesh, 1950: 161-162). In order to offer an illustrative overview of the lexical differences between Putonghua and Cantonese, a selection of different word classes have been selected. These are: three personal pronouns, three demonstrative pronouns, two interrogatives, four adjectives, four nouns and four verbs.

[4] To put this into context, Ethnologue reports that English has a LSI of 0.60 with German, 0.27 with French, and 0.24 with Russian.

Table 2: Comparison of Top Twenty Swadesh list items for Putonghua & Cantonese

English	POS	Putonghua	Pinyin	Cantonese	Jyutping	Same?
I	Personal Pronoun	我	wǒ	我	ngo5	Same
You	Personal Pronoun	你	nǐ	你	nei5	Same
He / She	Personal Pronoun	他 / 她	tā	佢	keoi5	Different
This	Demonstrative Pronoun	這	zhè	呢	go2	Different
That	Demonstrative Pronoun	那	nà	嗰	ni1 dou6	Different
Here	Demonstrative Pronoun	這裡 / 這兒	zhèlǐ/ zhè'er	呢度	go2 dou6	Different
Who	Interrogative	誰	shéi	邊個	bin1 gou6	Different
What	Interrogative	甚麼 / 那麼	shénme / nàme	乜	mat1	Different
Big	Adjective	大	dà	大	daai6	Same
Wide	Adjective	寬	kuān	濶	fut3	Different
Heavy	Adjective	重	zhòng	重	cung5	Same
Narrow	Adjective	窄	zhǎi	窄	zaak3	Same
Child	Noun	孩子	háizi	細路	sai3lou6	Different
Mother	Noun	媽媽	māma	阿媽	aa3maa1	Different
Fruit	Noun	水果	shǔigǔo	生果	saang1gwo2	Different
Ear	Noun	耳朵	ěrduo	耳仔	ji5zai2	Different
To drink	Verb	喝	hē	飲	jam2	Different
To think	Verb	想	xiǎng	諗	nam2	Different
To walk	Verb	走	zǒu	行	haang4	Different
To wash	Verb	洗	xǐ	洗	sai2	Same

As we can see from the above table, the majority of the example words are not the same in Putonghua and Cantonese, though it must be stressed that those that are the same are only so in the sense of being the same word in terms of the lexical elements within the words, their pronunciations in Putonghua and Cantonese are still divergent, based on the different phonological inventories of Putonghua and Cantonese, discussed above.

This section has underlined some of the most pronounced structural differences between Putonghua and Cantonese, in order to illustrate the difference in these two language varieties, both described as *Chinese* within Hong Kong Basic Law. It is from this point that the present discussion moves to the problematic use of the word *Chinese* in Hong Kong's Basic Law.

5 The Problematic Definition of 'Chinese'

Hong Kong's official languages are codified in Hong Kong Basic Law. Basic Law was adopted on April 4th 1990 and came into effect on July 1st 1997. Gittings (2016) describes Hong Kong Basic Law as follows:

> From deciding who has the right to live in Hong Kong to determining how the government is allowed to spend taxpayers' money, virtually every aspect of life in Hong Kong is affected in innumerable ways by the Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China...As the highest law with practical effect in Hong Kong, it sets the framework for Hong Kong's system of government, how its courts operate, and the rights and freedoms enjoyed by its residents, to name just a few examples. (Gittings, 2016: 1)

Article 9 of Basic Law defines the languages that are to be used in the Hong Kong SAR and defines Hong Kong's official languages as follows:

> **Article 9 (English)**: In addition to the Chinese language, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

> **Article 9 (Chinese)**: 香港特別行政區的行政機關、立法機關和司法機關，除使用中文 外，還可使用英文，英文也是正式語文。

Whilst Article 9 may seem fairly clear in its declaration of Hong Kong's official languages, it is the word 'Chinese' that is problematic. The word 'Chinese' (中文; zhōngwén，zung1man4) usually refers to 'Chinese' either as (a) a general term for a 'conceptual' Chinese language that includes all varieties of spoken and written Chinese, or (b) the written Chinese language, especially Modern Standard Chinese. In the case of defining the 'Chinese language' it is the written language as opposed to the spoken language that is decisive (Groves, 2008: 14).

These definitions, whilst popularly accepted, do not actually refer to a single language. Defining 'Chinese' as an official language is particularly problematic in the case of Hong Kong, a region wherein the divergence between spoken and written language is not only linguistically significant, but also ideologically so.

It is generally understood that in the case of Hong Kong, 'Chinese' refers to spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese (Cheng and Tang, 2016: 19). The fact that this is not explicitly stated however is problematic in the case of Hong Kong's legal code, which based on its very purpose, should clearly state the official languages of the region, particularly because this has been a concurrent and indeed controversial issue in the region since the transfer of sovereignty from the United Kingdom to the PRC in 1997.

5.1 What *should* 'Chinese' refer to?

The Chinese languages (or Sinitic languages) should in fact be considered a branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family, of which Ethnologue lists 457 member languages. Ethnologue describes Chinese itself as a *macrolanguage*. A macrolanguage is generally defined as a group of languages, or one language, with several sub languages and within these sub languages several varieties. The individual 'languages' of the macrolanguage, in this definition, are generally mutually unintelligible (Tikkanen, 1996: 787). Within the Chinese branch of the Sino-Tibetan family 14 varieties of Chinese are listed.[5]

Of interest to the current work are the 'Mandarin' and 'Yue' varieties, Mandarin being the sub-branch of the Chinese language family to which Putonghua belongs, and Yue a sub-branch of Chinese to which Cantonese belongs. Mair notes that the individual branches of the Sinitic family are mutually unintelligible and within the branches, that the languages may be "more or less mutually intelligible" (Mair, 1991: 3). If we are to propose that 'Chinese' is in fact the name of a group of languages and not the name of a single language, then Article 9 in its current state

[5]These are: Gan, Hakka, Huizhou, Jinyu, Mandarin, Min Bei, Min Dong, Min Nan, Min Zhong, Pu-Xian, Wu, Xiang, Yue and Dungan.

is not fit for purpose, unless it is the entire group of languages that are to be considered official in Hong Kong. This could be the case if any indication was given by the government to support this. However, the majority of materials produced by the government relating to language refer specifically to 'Chinese' (generally meaning spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese), Putonghua, and English.

If Chinese is implicitly referring to spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese in Hong Kong, then why does Article 9 not just say that? Were Article 9 to read:

> In addition to written Modern Standard Chinese and spoken Cantonese, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

Then there would be little question as to what the official languages of Hong Kong are. We must therefore consider that there is a reason that the word 'Chinese' is used. The use of the word 'Chinese' could quite simply be due to an oversimplification of the linguistic relatedness of all of the Chinese varieties, as discussed earlier. Perhaps more likely is that Article 9 is not in fact referring to *spoken* languages at all but rather is referring to the written languages.

There is however also the additional possibility that the meaning of 'Chinese' is left purposely vague. In order to avoid directly contradicting the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language (though Hong Kong is not under the jurisdiction of this law) it is convenient for Hong Kong's legislative council to simply declare 'Chinese' as an official language - thus including all possible varieties of Chinese without antagonizing any governmental bodies that may not wish to see Cantonese (or Putonghua) named as an official language. In January 2016, Hong Kong's Education Bureau declared via a page on their official website that Cantonese was not an official language of Hong Kong. This page has now been removed and so is no longer accessible, the below excerpt is therefore taken from the South China Morning Post's coverage of the outcry after this declaration:

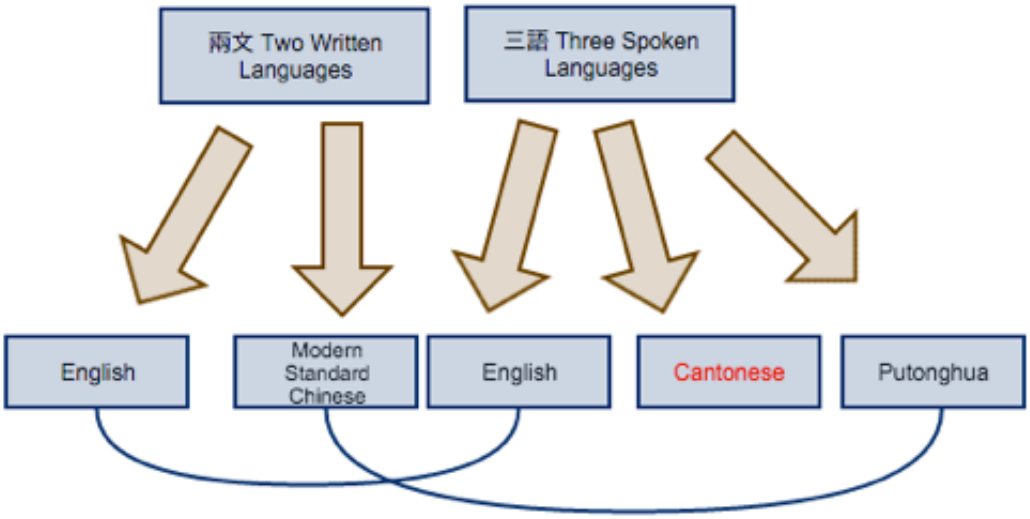
> Although the Basic Law stipulates that Chinese and English are the two official languages in Hong Kong, nearly 97 per cent of the local population learn Cantonese **(a Chinese dialect that is not an official language)** as their commonly used daily language. (Hong Kong Education Bureau as quoted by South China Morning Post, February 3 2016, emphasis added)

The Education Bureau are quite correct in their assertion that Cantonese is not an official language of Hong Kong, however nor is Putonghua. If neither Cantonese nor Putonghua are official languages in Hong Kong, then is a non-specific Chinese an official language? May it even be the case that it is *written* Chinese that is an official language and the spoken variety is unregulated? In the case of the above excerpt, it must be assumed that the Education Bureau understood the term 'Chinese' in Article 9 to refer primarily to Modern Standard Chinese and by extension, Putonghua. It perhaps speaks of the problems caused by the ambiguities in Article 9 that governmental agencies are able to publish misinformed 'guidance' on an official government webpage that, instead of clearing up any ambiguities caused by Article 9, causes public outrage and forces an apology from the Education Bureau. If Cantonese is not included within the definition of 'Chinese' in Hong Kong, then do the absolute majority of Hong Kong's population speak an unofficial language?

5.2 The 'Biliterate and Trilingual' Policy

In an effort to try and clarify the Hong Kong Legislative Council's official stance towards language and language acquisition targets for its population, Article 9 was supplemented in 1996 with the so-called 'biliterate and trilingual' policy (兩文三語; liǎngwén sānyǔ, loeng5man4 saam1jyu5). The biliterate and trilingual policy promotes the acquisition of written English and Modern Standard Chinese and spoken English, Cantonese and Putonghua. The below diagram has been created to illustrate the relationship between the two written languages (兩文) and the three spoken languages (三語):

Figure 1: The Relationship Between the 'Two Written Languages' and the 'Three Spoken Languages'



The biliterate and trilingual policy officially names the languages that are to be promoted in Hong Kong and encourages the population of Hong Kong, particularly students, to gain competency in the spoken and written varieties listed above. Whilst the biliterate and trilingual policy does not specifically name Cantonese and Putonghua as 'official' varieties in the legal sense, presumably the varieties identified under this policy are to be considered official in the Hong Kong context. As the above diagram illustrates, whilst this policy is more useful than Article 9, in that we can identify the languages that are being discussed within the policy, the policy is flawed in the sense that educational policy does not currently place substantial emphasis on the acquisition of all three languages equally and therefore though the government suggest students aim for biliteracy and trilingualism, there is no practical methodology provided for reaching this goal. The above diagram also illustrates that within the biliterate and trilingual policy, Cantonese is in an inherently weaker position than English and Putonghua in terms of its lack of a standard written variety - written Cantonese is presumably to be understood as non-official in Hong Kong, based on this policy.

Within the biliterate and trilingual policy, Putonghua is positioned as one of the three spoken languages to be acquired in Hong Kong. The written form of Putonghua, generally taken to be

very nearly one and the same as Modern Standard Chinese (Zhang and Yang, 2004: 145), is also one of the two written languages to be acquired. We can say therefore, that Putonghua is in a fairly strong position within the biliterate and trilingual policy in that it has both a written and spoken component represented by the policy, like English and unlike Cantonese.

The biliterate and trilingual policy tasks Hong Kong's students with the acquisition of two written (Chinese and English) and three spoken (Cantonese, English and Putonghua) languages. I have divided the languages that a Hong Kong student should learn into three categories as follows:

Table 3: Languages to be Acquired by Hong Kong Students

L1 (First Language)	**L1.5 (Not quite first language)**	**L2 (Second Language)**
Spoken Cantonese	Putonghua	Spoken English
Written Vernacular Cantonese?	Modern Standard Chinese?	Written English

It is obvious that Cantonese is the L1 and that English is the L2 for the majority of students. However, it is somewhat difficult to neatly place Putonghua in the L2 category, and indeed, equally difficult to place it within the L1 category as it does not easily fit within either. It is similarly difficult to assess whether or not Modern Standard Chinese can be considered an L1 in the context of Hong Kong. It can arguably be considered an L2 as it does not represent what students say and rather more closely represents spoken Putonghua. Written Cantonese should rightly be considered the written L1 of Hong Kong students, despite the fact that they do not formally learn to write in Cantonese via compulsory education.

Previous literature shows that Hong Kong is a region that uses several different language varieties, primarily the three that are the subject of the biliterate and trilingual policy - Cantonese, English and Putonghua. Hong Kong's codified language policy however indicates only two languages to be considered official in Hong Kong - English and an all-encompassing 'Chinese.' It is clear that a gap exists within Article 9 of Hong Kong's Basic Law, the seemingly innocuous use of the word 'Chinese' offers little in the way of certainty with regards to what Hong Kong's official languages might be. Perhaps this is the intent behind the policy, however, should it be? Should Article 9 be purposefully vague in order to allow fuzzy interpretation of the meaning behind a word, particularly when that word has the potential to devalue the L1 of an entire region? In the next section of this paper I will outline suggestions as to how Article 9 of Hong Kong's Basic Law might be clarified in order to offer a clear, socially responsible and socially justifiable LPP programme for Hong Kong.

6 Reconsidering Article 9

Article 9 of Hong Kong Basic Law is inadequate in defining Hong Kong's official languages due to its use of the vague term 'Chinese'. This paper therefore suggests an amendment to Article 9 in order to more clearly indicate both Hong Kong's official languages and the linguistic reality of the region, a reality wherein 'Chinese' as a word cannot aptly delimit the distinction between Cantonese and Putonghua, a distinction that is perhaps intentionally downplayed in Article 9.

Exponents of recognizing the differences between Putonghua and Cantonese may raise the following points:

1. Are the differences between the two varieties important?
2. What is the purpose of recognizing these differences?
3. Do the linguistic similarities of the languages not help to ideologically unite Mainland China and Hong Kong?
4. Both use Chinese characters and are thus 'Chinese' - no further explanation is necessary.

Tackling each of the above points:

1. It is not the differences that are inherently important; rather it is the lack of acknowledgment of these differences that is not only artificial but also ultimately damaging. Failure to recognize the key differences between Cantonese and Putonghua and indeed, referring to both languages as registers of the same language harms not only the status of Cantonese in a global sense, but also the status of Putonghua in Hong Kong. Cantonese comes to lack status in international settings and at same the time the classroom hours devoted to Putonghua in the educational curriculum are insufficient for the sound acquisition of the language. In other words, if Putonghua and Cantonese are considered different registers of the same language, then the acquisition of Putonghua is not tackled sufficiently in schools as it is suggested Hong Kong students already 'know Chinese' and thus can acquire Putonghua with minimal instruction.
2. Recognising the differences between the two languages will allow appreciation of both languages, both languages can naturally fulfil their roles within their respective domains and any overlap in domain usage is natural and to be both expected and encouraged.
3. Hong Kong is a territory of the People's Republic of China and throughout history has long been seen as an integral part of Greater China. Even throughout British rule, Hong Kong was still ideologically part of 'Greater China' - it did not cease to be 'Chinese' in the cultural or ideological sense. Cantonese is a Chinese language, it shares the same linguistic ancestors as Putonghua and uses the same script, albeit with some unique characters to both Cantonese and Mandarin varieties. Just as the similarities between the two languages should not been downplayed, nor should the uniqueness of each language. The relationship between Cantonese and Putonghua is one that should be acknowledged and fully understood, not one that should be diluted in order to create a false homogeny.
4. Both languages use Chinese characters for their written expression and Modern Standard Chinese, the written variant considered the official written variant in Hong Kong, is near identical to that of written Putonghua. However, many languages use the same scripts for the expression of their written form and this does not make them 'the same language.' Both Japanese and Korean use Chinese characters, Japanese extensively and Korean relatively little in modern times, for their written standards. Furthermore, it is entirely possible to write non-Chinese languages using Chinese characters, Japanese was once written using only Chinese characters in a system known as man'yōgana (Bentley, 2001), which used Chinese characters primarily for their phonetic rather than semantic qualities. The Zhuang language (spoken primarily in Guangxi Province) similarly traditionally used Chinese inspired characters, known as sawndip, for the writing down of the language (Bauer, 2000).

Some of these characters are taken directly from Chinese and others are entirely unique, Zhuang is not a member of the Chinese language family, however.

6.1 Revising Article 9

I have argued that Article 9 is detrimental to Hong Kong's language policy as the purpose it sets out to achieve - confirmation of Hong Kong's official languages for use in both government and society - is unachievable in its current state. Below is the current Article 9 and its suggested revision:

> **Original:** In addition to the Chinese language, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

> **Original:** 香港特別行政區的行政機關、立法機關和司法機關，除使用中文外，還可使用英文，英文也是正式語文。

> **Revised:** Cantonese, English and Putonghua may be used as the official languages by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. If required, other Chinese languages can also be used.

> **Revised:** 香港特別行政區的行政機關、立法機關和司法機關，可使用粵語，英語與普通話。如果需要，也可使用中國的其他的語言。

In addition to signaling the specific languages that are to be considered 'official' in Hong Kong, the use of the character ' 文' (wén; man4; language, writing) has been replaced with the character ' 語' (yǔ; jyu5; language, speech) to place more emphasis on the spoken language as opposed to the written language, which is an artificial standard. An additional line has been added indicating that should the situation arise, other Chinese languages may also be used in whatever capacity - this ensures that Article 9 is not restrictive in terms of acknowledging that other Chinese languages are used in Hong Kong, and that these should be afforded status as and when required in an official setting. At the same time, Cantonese, Putonghua and English have been specifically signaled in the revised Article 9 in order to acknowledge the linguistic reality of Hong Kong in which these three languages are in general the languages of government, society and education.

The use of the term 'Chinese' (中文; zhōngwén; zung1man4) has been removed entirely from the revised version of Article 9. As discussed previously this word is incredibly vague and does not serve to clearly indicate the official languages of Hong Kong. 'Chinese' instead should be considered an umbrella term for the 'Chinese languages' and used only where appropriate in official settings.

6.2 Potential Resistance & Consequences of Revising Article 9

6.2.1 The 'Nation Building' Effect of Basic Law, Article 9

Nation building refers to the construction of a national identity using the power of the state. Wright (2004: 169-170) notes that the proliferation of a national language is fundamental in

the process of nation building. Hippler (2005) proposes that the process of nation building generally involves the creation and affirmation of the ideological nation through the use of symbolic artefacts such as:

- History
- Mythology
- Flags
- Anthems
- **National language(s)**

In the creation of the modern Chinese state, particularly following the creation of the People's Republic of China, a national language (Putonghua) was absolutely fundamental in the creation of a unified Chinese national identity. This section briefly assesses if Basic Law, Article 9 effects nation building in Hong Kong and if so, *which nation is being built?*

Hong Kong Basic Law was created in order to give postcolonial Hong Kong a set of laws and ordinances that would allow it function as a highly autonomous region of the People's Republic of China. Unlike many postcolonial states, such as Malaysia and Singapore, Hong Kong did not become independent following the end of British sovereignty but rather became a region of the PRC, like Macau. In order to ensure that postcolonial Hong Kong would function as a region of the PRC, whilst maintaining its autonomy, it was necessary for Basic Law to be drafted in such a way that would make it both autonomous and very much an integral part of the PRC. The drafting of Basic Law therefore had to be careful and well considered.

As Hong Kong has its own set of laws and has a way of life that is very much based on its colonial past as well as its present position as Special Administrative Region of the PRC, it arguably falls somewhere in between a fully fledged state and a 'mere' region of the PRC. Whilst it has nominal autonomy in various aspects of its governance, the PRC undoubtedly has great influence on present and particularly, future Hong Kong.

Whether or not Hong Kong in its present form can be considered a 'nation' or not is a matter of some debate. Hobsbawm (1991) noted that it is immensely difficult to succinctly define a 'nation' as opinions on how a 'nation' is formed vary. Wright (2000) notes that the nation is a community imagined by its constituent members. Naturally for the 'nation' to exist, its members must possess some form of nationalism or 'consciousness' of their collective status as a community with shared characteristics. Smith (1995) provided four conceptions of nationalism as follows:

- Those who view nationalism and the nation state as the natural order of things.
- Those who agree on the primordial nature of nationalism but disagree that it is predestined.
- Those who view nationalism as necessary for development.
- Those who view nationalism as a social construct with history, ritual, and myth used to promote a sense of national identity.

It is difficult to say which of the above four definitions the people of Hong Kong would generally fall into, however the fourth definition, concerning history, ritual, and myth seems to be the most apposite with regards to nation building. As noted by Wright in 2004, a national language is often fundamental in nation building. Basic Law, Article 9 gives Hong Kong *two* official languages, but arguably neither of those two languages effect nation building in the region. English has traditionally been conceived as a tool for socioeconomic advancement in Hong Kong and not as an inherent feature of the Hong Kong identity, though this has changed somewhat in recent years with some Hong Kongers distinguishing themselves from their mainland counterparts based on their use of English (Chan, 2002). Nevertheless, as English is not the native language for the absolute majority of the population and does not serve a role in informing Hong Kong's 'national' history and mythology, it is unlikely that English would serve as much a role in nation building in Hong Kong as Cantonese would, the native language for the majority of the population.

As has been discussed in this paper, however, Cantonese is not an official language of Hong Kong. Rather, it is *Chinese* that is listed as an official language in Basic Law, Article 9. It would be difficult to argue therefore that Article 9 was constructed with the intention of contributing to the construction a specific Hong Kong identity. It is quite probable, however, that Article 9 reflects an attempt to ideologically locate Hong Kong within 'greater China' and impress on its population a feeling of 'Chinese-ness'. It can therefore be argued that if we are to consider that Hong Kong's codification of its official languages is an attempt at nation building, then it is the PRC's nation building that is enhanced through an attempt to encourage the Hong Kong population to identify more closely with a 'pan-Chinese' identity, as opposed to an autonomous Hong Kong identity. It is therefore probable that were Article 9 to be modified to include reference to Putonghua and Cantonese individually, then those that wish for the Hong Kong population to identify more closely with mainland China would resist any modification to Article 9.

6.2.2 Principles of Basic Law, Article 9

Article 9 in its current form has not been changed or significantly challenged since its adoption as an article of Hong Kong Basic Law on April 4th 1990. In order to understand the importance of Article 9, it is necessary to consider Hong Kong Basic Law as a whole and to consider the context in which it came into being. Hong Kong's Basic Law was drafted with four basic principles in mind (Zhang, 1988: 8), these are:

1. "One Country, Two Systems"
2. Preservation of Hong Kong's prosperity and stability
3. The administration of Hong Kong by the people of Hong Kong
4. Conformity to the terms of the Joint Declaration

Framing Article 9 in the context of these basic principles, we can perhaps understand the reasoning behind the content of Article 9. The "One Country, Two Systems" model ensures that Hong Kong is a fundamental territory of the People's Republic of China and at the same time, is able to maintain its own laws and way of life, at least in theory. It was mentioned

earlier in this paper that Putonghua is the variety of the Chinese language that is official in the PRC whilst Hong Kong has 'Chinese' and English. This allows Article 9 to have overlap with language policy in the PRC in that Article 9 does not contradict the PRC's own language laws - what Chinese means is open to interpretation and can quite easily (and probably does) include Putonghua, the official language of the PRC. The second of these basic principles, the preservation of Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, is reason enough for the inclusion of English as an official language of the region - English is considered *the* language of international trade and commerce and Hong Kong is a financial centre in East Asia, maintaining this status benefits not only Hong Kong itself, but also the PRC. It would have also been difficult for Hong Kong to completely shift to a 'Chinese-only' context after the return of sovereignty to the PRC in 1997 as English was heavily relied upon in public administration and is still very much the primary language of the Hong Kong legal system at its highest levels (Ng, 2009). As to whether or not the third of these principles, on self-rule in Hong Kong, is strictly obeyed in the spirit of Basic Law, is not within the scope of this paper. Needless to say however, this is very much a matter of debate. Likewise, whether or not the PRC's Central Government in Beijing and indeed the Hong Kong Legislative Council strictly conform to the terms of the joint declaration is currently a matter of debate both within Hong Kong, and internationally.

What is without doubt; however, is that any change to Article 9 would be met with both resistance and apprehension. Hong Kong is, in many ways, a territory characterized by its compromises. For some, Hong Kong is an integral territory of the People's Republic of China and as such, should reflect this in its policy, ideology and through a sense of cultural belonging. For others, Hong Kong is culturally, historically and ideologically unique and as such should express this through policy markedly 'Hong Kongese' in nature. This paper takes the position that policy should aptly reflect reality and should not be overly influenced by ideology that aims to shape Hong Kong to reflect the perception of reality for one group in Hong Kong, in other words 'Pro-Beijing' or 'Pro-Democracy' ideologues. I am locating reality based on the near totality of the Hong Kong population who identify themselves as L1 speakers of Cantonese and not any other variety of Chinese. Hong Kong is a region wherein Cantonese is the first language for the absolute majority of the population, it is *spoken* Cantonese that is used in daily conversation and in daily tasks for the majority of the population (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015). As such, Cantonese rightly deserves to be recognized in policy as the first *spoken* language of Hong Kong and this recognition should be in Article 9, not in the subsidiary 'biliterate and trilingual policy. It is likely that should Cantonese be recognized as the first language of Hong Kong, certain groups within and outside of Hong Kong would view this as an expression of an individual and unique Hong Kong identity, one different to that of the PRC. Cantonese has been used as a marker of Hong Kong identity, notably with the Umbrella Movement, a movement spontaneously created as a result of the 2014 pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong. The naming of this movement is significant for two reasons:

1. Umbrellas were used in order to deflect tear gas used by Hong Kong police against the protesters

2. The word for umbrella in Cantonese is 遮 (ze1) and the word in Putonghua or 'Standard Chinese' is 雨傘 (yǔsǎn). The fact that these two words are markedly different between the two language varieties lends itself to framing the Umbrella Movement as a Hong Kong

movement, intrinsically linked to the Hong Kong identity, which is primarily demonstrated by means of spoken Cantonese.

A blatant acknowledgement of this separate identity, by means of recognition of Cantonese in Hong Kong's language policy, would no doubt anger the more stringently pro-Beijing groups in Hong Kong - particularly following the creation of the Umbrella Movement, which uses Cantonese as a vehicle for its ideology. Nevertheless, this paper would argue that anything short of acknowledging the language varieties of Hong Kong individually and directly in policy is a disservice to the people of Hong Kong. Cantonese is the L1 for the majority of the Hong Kong population and this should be recognized in the region's language policy, if it is to have such a policy. For this reason, this paper recommends Article 9 of Hong Kong's Basic Law be worded, as per the amendment on Page 77 of this paper, as follows:

> Cantonese, English and Putonghua may be used as the official languages by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region. If required, other Chinese languages can also be used.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Summary

This paper has explored Hong Kong Basic Law, Article 9 and its designation of Hong Kong's official languages. It has been found that Article 9 is not entirely fit for purpose due to a lack of clarity with regards to what 'Chinese' means in Article 9. This paper has examined why it is not appropriate to use the word 'Chinese' to refer to both Cantonese and Putonghua in Article 9 due to the differing sociolinguistic and ideological positions of these languages in Hong Kong. I have then made some suggestions as to ways in which Article 9 can be clarified in order to offer a fair and accurate description of language-use in Hong Kong and have also identified why there may be some resistance to naming both Cantonese and Putonghua in Hong Kong's Basic Law, as opposed to using the incredibly vague term, 'Chinese'.

7.2 Concluding Thoughts

Article 9 of Hong Kong's Basic Law is in itself a fairly innocuous declaration of Hong Kong's official languages. Upon reading Article 9 one may be tempted to believe that Hong Kong's official languages are neatly and succinctly simply 'Chinese' and English. However, on examination of Hong Kong's linguistic situation, the languages that the general population use in daily life, education, business, and various other domains, we can quite clearly see that Hong Kong does not use *only* two languages but rather uses at least three, on a widespread and planned basis. This paper has shown that Article 9 of Hong Kong's Basic Law is currently not fit for purpose. It does not properly demonstrate Hong Kong's official languages and although the supplementary 'biliterate and trilingual' policy aims to offer some clarity as to the languages that the Hong Kong population should aim to acquire, it is at most an educational policy focusing on attainment and not a declaration of the region's official languages in a legal sense. This paper has therefore made some suggestions as to how Article 9 of Basic Law could be amended to better

reflect the linguistic reality of Hong Kong and better serve the Hong Kong population. There is an argument to be made that we do not require language policies, that such prescriptivism is overall harmful and limits free will; however, if we are to have language policies then they should at the very least accurately describe the reality of the linguistic situation of the region in which they are intended to be considered law.

7.3 Future Research Directions

As the importance of Putonghua continues to be stressed by the Hong Kong Legislative Council and the position of Cantonese in Hong Kong remains undefined in Hong Kong's Basic Law, it will be interesting to note the ways in which the meaning of the word 'Chinese' in Hong Kong evolves. Currently, the Hong Kong Legislative Council tend to use 'Chinese' as a blanket term to include various different varieties of Chinese, though the word does tend to generally point to spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese. It will be interesting to note if this general understanding of the term 'Chinese' changes in Hong Kong and also to track the potential differences in the way that this term is interpreted by official sources and by the general public. This study has used a documentary analysis to understand the current use of this term in Hong Kong's Basic Law. It would be interesting to make use of complementary methodological approaches to further enhance understanding of the term 'Chinese' in Hong Kong, perhaps by means of a participant informed study, to gauge the way that this term is understood by both policymakers and by the general public.

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Implications for the Status of Putonghua in Hong Kong Job Advertisements

Abstract

Since the transfer of sovereignty from the United Kingdom to the People's Republic of China on July 1st, 1997, much has been made of the promotion and proliferation of Putonghua in Hong Kong. The enactment of the biliterate and trilingual policy, which proposes that Cantonese, English, and Putonghua serve as the three languages of Hong Kong has created a situation wherein Hong Kongese students are expected not only to develop competence in spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese, but also in English and Putonghua.

The strongest claim made in support of the promotion of Putonghua in Hong Kong is the increasing economic worth of Putonghua, not only in Asia but also as a global language. This paper is based on an analysis of approximately 20,000 job advertisements in Hong Kong and examines the way in which Putonghua is treated in these job advertisements. Corpus linguistic methodologies are used in order to identify a discernible pattern with regards to Putonghua as a requirement for employment in various different industries in Hong Kong. Corpus analysis shows that whilst Putonghua appears as a desirable language for employment in a variety of positions in Hong Kong, it is not in many cases an absolute requirement for employment. The way in which Putonghua is referred to in job advertisements in Hong Kong offers some insight into how Putonghua is viewed in socioeconomic terms in Hong Kong.

1 Introduction

1.1 The Position of Putonghua in Hong Kong

The position of Putonghua in Hong Kong is one that is currently ill-defined and difficult to quantify in relation to the relative positions of English and Cantonese within Hong Kong's linguistic hierarchy. Hong Kong is a predominantly Cantonese-speaking region, with 89.1% of the population declaring Cantonese as their L1 (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 16). L1 speakers of Putonghua meanwhile account for just 4.7% of the population, with English speakers numbering even less at 0.6% (ibid.). Cantonese is the predominant language of the home and of culture in Hong Kong (Snow, 2004: 7), English has long played a role of socioeconomic functionality, the role of Putonghua, however, is somewhat more difficult to define.

Putonghua is the official language of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) is a region of the PRC and therefore the political importance of Putonghua in this context is quite clear. However, Hong Kong maintains its own language policy under Article 9 of its Basic Law - Putonghua is not mentioned in this article and rather Hong Kong's official languages are declared simply 'Chinese and English. A paper in its own right could be devoted to the problematic definition of 'Chinese' in Article 9 of Hong Kong's

Basic Law and so not a great deal of attention will be given to this issue within this paper.[1] In brief, the word 'Chinese' does little in the way of defining Hong Kong's official languages; Chinese can mean different things to different people - Cantonese, Putonghua, all varieties of Chinese, written Chinese, etc. Arguably, Article 9 is purposely vague in order to avoid naming any particular variety of Chinese as an official language in Hong Kong.

As a supplement to the fairly vague Article 9, the Hong Kong Legislative Council promote the acquisition of written English and Chinese and spoken English, Cantonese and Putonghua under a policy known as the 'biliterate and trilingual' policy. This policy aims to offer opportunities and initiatives for the people of Hong Kong to gain linguistic competency in the three languages listed above (Education Bureau, 2014). An integral component of this policy is raising 'language awareness' in Hong Kong and bringing attention to the benefits that can be brought through the acquisition of an additional language. The addition of any language to one's linguistic repertoire should, of course, be encouraged (García, 2011: 409), however in the case of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong curriculum is already overwhelmingly dominated by language subjects (Adamson and Lai, 1997: 233, Morris and Adamson, 2010: 147) and furthermore, should Putonghua eventually be elevated to a status that dictates it should be used as the medium of instruction for the Chinese Language Subject (the subject wherein Hong Kong students learn about their own language by means of oral Cantonese instruction), the status of Cantonese will undoubtedly be diminished as it would lose one key domain in which it is used in a formal setting. Pre-tertiary education is currently one of the domains where spoken Cantonese has a fairly high sociolinguistic status, being used as the primary mode of spoken communication in the majority of Chinese language subjects (Tsui, 2003: 98). This paper aims to offer some suggestion as to how much Putonghua is currently used within Hong Kong's job market and therefore how socioeconomically valuable the language is in Hong Kong.

1.2 Rationale

1.2.1 Job Advertisements

The compilation of a corpus of one specific genre of text is something well attested in the literature and is a data collection method often employed in corpus studies (Kenning, 2012: 487). The use of job advertisements as a measure of the ways in which employers view certain languages is also something attested in previous literature. This is discussed in greater detail in the Section 2.

Job advertisements are examples of language policy in practice - the expression and enactment of language policy, either influenced by official policy or enacted from a purely grassroots level. This investigation aims to demonstrate how Putonghua is treated, compared to Hong Kong's two other languages (Cantonese and English), in the domain of employment, as expressed in job advertisements from one source. Pennycook argues (2013: 1) that the way in which languages are viewed and the ideologies surrounding them, are the subject of language policies, not the language themselves. It is for this reason that job advertisements offer a useful insight into the socioeconomic worth attached to languages in Hong Kong and thus allows assessment of how successful policies directed at shaping language ideologies in Hong Kong are.

[1] The second paper included in this thesis does just that and discusses this issue in detail.

1.2.2 JobsDB

This study has chosen JobsDB as one of Hong Kong's leading job advertisement databases to draw data for the creation of a corpus. On investigation of the most popular job listing portals in Hong Kong, it was found that JobsDB consistently ranks as one of the most visited websites in the region, not just amongst job websites, but amongst websites in general. As of July 2018, JobsDB was ranked as the 89th most visited website in Hong Kong according to *Alexa* website analytics.[2] A comparable website, *Indeed*[3] was ranked as the 485th most visited website in the region[4].

Though both JobsDB and Indeed primarily (but not exclusively) post English-language job advertisements, it was found that websites that post predominantly Chinese-language advertisements were visited far less than their English equivalents. *HKGoodJobs*[5], for instance is ranked as the 3,118th most visited website in Hong Kong as of July 2018.[6] Therefore, in order to create a sizable corpus representative of jobs available in Hong Kong in July 2015 and also to consider job advertisements that people actually view, JobsDB was selected to form my corpus of job advertisements.

There are of course limitations to using only one website for this study, the corpus itself cannot be representative of *all* job advertisements available in the region and also potentially only represents job advertisements that would be viewed by a select audience, i.e. those with access to the internet and enough proficiency in English to navigate the website. As discussed at the end of this paper, it would be desirable to repeat the processes outlined in this paper with a corpus composed of Chinese-language job advertisements, perhaps from newspapers published in Hong Kong. This, however, is not within the scope of the current study.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Job Advertisements as Linguistic Data

Job advertisements have been used as a source of linguistic inquiry by several researchers - Taavitsainen and Pahta, 2003, van Meurs et al., 2004, Gunnarsson, 2009, Selvi, 2010, for example. The use of job advertisements thus far has been used, in general, to investigate attitudes towards other languages, often English, and how applicants respond to the use of English or another language within an advertisement of a region wherein that language is not the majority language of the population. van Meurs et al. (2004) used job advertisements to investigate how native Dutch speaking applicants respond to Dutch, Dutch with English vocabulary intermixed, and fully English job advertisements in terms of their opinion on the attractiveness and intelligibility of the job advertisement and in terms of how their attitude to the organization and the job in question might be altered based on the language used within the job advertisement. van Meurs et al. found that the use of English within job advertisements in a native Dutch-speaking context had no effect on respondents' overall attitude towards the job advertisement or the organization in question. Gunnarsson (2009) examined the use of English in job advertisements from five

[2] https://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/jobsdb.com (Accessed 24th July, 2018)
[3] https://www.indeed.hk/ (Accessed 24th July, 2018)
[4] https://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/indeed.hk (Accessed 24th July, 2018)
[5] https://www.hkgoodjobs.com/ (Accessed 24th July 2018)
[6] https://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/hkgoodjobs.com (Accessed July 24th, 2018)

transnational enterprises based in Sweden. The language in which the job advertisements were written in and the languages that were noted as *specifically* required for employment within the job advertisement in question were identified and investigated. Gunnarsson's examination was carried out with the intention of forming an understanding of the multilingual realities of Swedish transnational organizations and the linguistic competencies required to gain employment at different levels within a Swedish transnational. Selvi (2010) instead used job advertisements to expose the ways in which native English speakers are given unfair advantage in job advertisements recruiting TESOL teachers. Taavitsainen and Pahta's discussion on job advertisements relate to the gradual emergence of English as a language not only required for employment within certain business sectors in Finland, but also increasingly as a language *of* some job advertisements in Finland (2003: 8). All of these studies are concerned with how the *applicant* might respond to job advertisements that list specific linguistic requirements for employment, or that are written in a language not native to the region in which the job advertisement has been posted.

2.2 The Role of Job Advertisements in the Present Study

The present study differs from the aforementioned studies in that whilst job advertisements are used as the locus of linguistic investigation, the potential applicant is not specifically considered in the analysis of the job advertisement and rather it is the job advertisement itself, and the placement of lexical items within the job advertisement, that are used to discern *employers'* attitudes towards language and linguistic proficiency in Hong Kong. This study uses a corpus based approach in the collection and analysis of the job advertisements in question. As with any methodological approach it is important to state from the outset the results that these kinds of corpus studies cannot provide, Bennett (2010: 2) summarizes these as follows:

- negative evidence
- reasons and explanations
- representation of *all* language within the domain / field / scope of the corpus.

This means that corpus studies cannot provide evidence for information that is not contained within the corpus - the fact that corpus linguistic methodologies cannot provide negative evidence is generally used as a criticism of corpus studies that attempt to make *general* statements on language at the macro level (Glynn, 2010: 12). For corpus studies such as the present, the intent is not to make a general statement on language and rather the present study aims to offer some insight as to the ideological position of Putonghua within the domain of employment in Hong Kong based on information extrapolated from the job advertisements in question.

In order to gain some insight into how words within these job advertisements might be linked, and how important those links might be, statistical measures have been used to gauge the strength of collocation between words describing expected proficiency or *ability* in a certain language and the language itself. The *T-Score* has been selected as the statistical measure of choice for the present study as it reliably generates high association scores for word pairs and deals well with providing a measure of the non-randomness of word pairings (Evert, 2009). This can be contrasted against other commonly used statistical measures such as the *MI Score*, which often reports high association scores for word pairings that are overall uncommon within the

corpus - i.e., for word pairs that *only* co-occur together, thus giving the impression of a solid statistical link, when there is in fact no such link to be made - other than the fact that those two words appear together with minimum variation - technical terms, for example.

3 Aim of Investigation

The aim of the present study is to investigate whether or not, based on the positioning of the word 'Putonghua' in job advertisements, Putonghua is generally *required* for employment in Hong Kong or if it is rather seen as an *advantage* but not as a requirement for employment. English is generally afforded a 'high' status within multiple domains in Hong Kong, particularly the domain of employment (Li, 1999: 67). This study aims to investigate if, in the last twenty years since the transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to the People's Republic of China, Putonghua has similarly been afforded a high value within the domain of employment. Additionally, the way in which Putonghua is described in job advertisements sheds some light on how Putonghua is viewed in Hong Kong and indeed where it stands within Hong Kong's linguistic trichotomy (Cantonese, English and Putonghua). It should be noted that within this paper, the language variety commonly referred to as 'Mandarin' in the West is referred to as 'Putonghua,' as it is referred to in official contexts both in the PRC and in Hong Kong. This is done in order to avoid confusion between the 'Mandarin' group of language varieties spoken in Mainland China (Norman, 1998: 191), and the officially sanctioned variant known as Putonghua.

4 Method of Investigation

Approximately 20,000 job advertisements were extracted and compiled from Jobsdb.com - one of Hong Kong's leading online job vacancy databases. The majority of the job advertisements collected for analysis are English language advertisements, as is the primary language of the website. Some Chinese advertisements were also collected in the random sampling, however it would not be possible nor was it desirable in the context of the present study to balance the number of English and Chinese language job advertisements. Whilst the Hong Kong edition of JobsDB is primarily English language, other countries' versions of the website are available both in English and the language of the country - the Thai version of the website, for instance, is available in both English and Thai. This is perhaps indicative of the position of English within the domain of employment in Hong Kong.

All of the job advertisements taken fall into one of twenty-four employment categories, as defined by JobsDB:

1. Accounting
2. Admin and HR
3. Banking / Finance
4. Beauty Care / Health
5. Building and Construction

6. Design
7. Education
8. Engineering
9. Hospitality / Food and Beverage
10. Information Technology (IT)
11. Insurance
12. Management
13. Manufacturing
14. Marketing / Public Relations
15. Media and Advertising
16. Medical Services
17. Merchandising and Purchasing
18. Professional Services
19. Property / Real Estate
20. Public / Civil
21. Sales, Customer Service and Business Development
22. Sciences, Lab, Research and Development
23. Transportation and Logistics
24. Others

Whilst certain sectors, such as “Banking and Finance”, contain far more advertisements than sectors such as “Beauty Care / Health”, no particular effort was made to balance job advertisements in order to offer an equal number of advertisements per employment sector. Rather, in order to maintain the authenticity of the corpus as a true representation of the job advertisements live on the website as of July 2015 and in order to offer an overall representation of the job market in Hong Kong, (at least as presented by JobsDB) job advertisements were extracted at random. In future it would be both desirable and interesting to examine the linguistic competencies for individual employment sectors in Hong Kong. This is not however within the scope of the present study, which looks at the position of Putonghua within job advertisements at a macro-level in order to offer an overall, though less specific, impression of the ideological position of Putonghua within these advertisements.

All of the job advertisements within the corpus were compiled in Summer 2015 - all advertisements were active as of July 5th 2015 and it is presumed that no job advertisement was older than six months old - JobsDB notes that job advertisements are generally maintained and are

live for a period of thirty days meaning that it is unlikely an advertisement would be live on the site for more than one month, let alone six months.

The corpus contains:

- 6,941,113 tokens
- 5,739,655 words
- 173,094 grammatical sentences

The number of tokens refer to the total number of lexical items within the corpus, including repeated words but not including punctuation. Words refer to the number of unique lexical items within the corpus. The corpus was automatically compiled using the *Sketch Engine* corpus manager software.[7]

5 Results

As previously stated, the corpus was created in order to draw some conclusion as to how Putonghua is referenced in job advertisements and if job advertisements can help to demonstrate expected proficiencies in Putonghua for employment in Hong Kong.

5.1 Frequency

The simplest result to be drawn from the corpus is the frequency of named languages or varieties within job advertisements. The below table indicates the number of occurrences for each named language or variety. Results with an occurrence of zero, such as the word ' 廣東話' (Cantonese), have been omitted from the table (The words; 客家話 (Hakka), 客家话 (Hakka), 廣東話 (Cantonese), 粵語 (Cantonese), 广东话 (Cantonese), 粵语 (Cantonese) were searched, each had an occurrence of zero). Frequencies for named varieties were retrieved in English, Traditional Chinese and Simplified Chinese. Results for frequency are presented in the below table.

Table 1: Frequency of Language Varieties in Corpus

Language Variety	**Frequency in Corpus**
English	16,166
Chinese	10,348
Mandarin	5,370
Cantonese	4,527
Putonghua	1,946
中文 Chinese (Simplified & Traditional)	26
英語 English (Traditional)	19
普通話　Putonghua (Traditional)	17
Hakka	4
普通话 Putonghua (Simplified)	1
英语 English (Simplified)	1

[7]Corpus is available on request, please contact a.clark@ed.ac.uk.

From the above results, the following assertions can be made:

1. English occurs far more as a named variety than any other language within the corpus.
2. Putonghua / Mandarin is named explicitly in job advertisements almost double the number of times that Cantonese is.
3. Cantonese is less frequently named in job advertisements. This is likely as a result of the fact that the word 'Chinese' in the Hong Kong context, in general, would refer to spoken Cantonese and written Standard Chinese, as opposed to spoken Putonghua / Mandarin (Cheng and Tang, 2016: 19). In other words, it is perhaps the case that in the majority of these job advertisements, Cantonese proficiency is presumed.

The above frequencies can be simplified by combining the results for all of the lexical items that refer to the same language variety such as; Mandarin, Putonghua, 普通話 (Putonghua (Traditional)) and 普通话 (Putonghua (Simplified)).

Table 2: Simplified Frequencies of Language Varieties in Corpus

Language Variety	**Frequency in Corpus**
English	16,166
Chinese	10,374
Mandarin / Putonghua	7,334
Cantonese	4,527

We can summarize that in terms of pure frequency, of the three language varieties in question, Cantonese is the least frequently mentioned as a named variety.

Although raw frequencies are useful in terms of telling us how frequently a specific word appears in a corpus, they are less useful for telling us how the words are used and in which situations they appear. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, as many uses of the word 'Chinese' quite likely refer to spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese in the Hong Kong context it may in fact be the case that the language variety that is being referred to least frequently is Putonghua / Mandarin.

It should be noted that a shortcoming of this corpus-based method is that it is not possible to determine with complete certainty as to when 'English' or 'Chinese' refer to the languages, or to something else such as an 'English company' or a 'Chinese investment firm.' It is therefore assumed that there is an unavoidable margin of error in reporting for frequencies of the words 'English' and 'Chinese'. In order to create a semblance of the size of this margin of error, it is, however, possible to draw two short random samples from the corpus for the kinds of contexts that the words 'English' and 'Chinese' appear in. 250 random occurrences for the words 'English' and 'Chinese' have been drawn from the corpus and were manually analyzed as follows.

From the 250 line sample for the word 'English' the following lines were extracted that include instances in which the word English does not refer to the language:

Table 3: Instances where 'English' not used to refer to Language Variety

Concordance Lines	
1	...administrative support for our practice and its two English partners. Secretary / Administrator Requirements...

In total one line from the 250-line sample makes reference to English in a meaning other than the language. When referring to the United Kingdom, job advertisements tend to (correctly) use the adjective 'British' as opposed to English. The word British occurs a total of 101 times within the corpus.

The random sample for situations in which the word 'Chinese' occurs reveals a slightly more complex situation as Chinese can quite easily refer to both the language and various other things - businesses, people, restaurants, etc.:

Table 4: Instances where 'Chinese' not used to refer to Language Variety

	Concordance Lines
1	...Groundbreaking outbound M and A investments by Chinese clients seeking to globalise;- Foreign...
2	...Assistant Manager Our client is a fast expanding Chinese Bank in Hong Kong. They are looking for...
3	...1 and 3 qualifier is an advantage Mainland Chinese/Indonesian/ Nepalese with valid working...
4	...graduates will also be considered) - Mainland Chinese graduates are most welcomed - Mature, self-motivated...
5	...Ltd. is one of the most well known local Chinese banks in Hong Kong. At present, there are...
6	...Pima cotton t-shirts, Japanese denim jeans, Chinese silk shirts, Mongolian cashmere sweaters...
7	...repackaging programmes in Hong Kong. At Chinese Estates, we believe our success is directly...
8	...you Shangri-La? SERVER - SHANG PALACE (CHINESE RESTAURANT) Good command of spoken English...
9	...Minimum 6-8 year experience in hotel or Chinese restaurant; High flexibilities, well-organized...

There are a relatively high number of references to Chinese within the corpus that do not refer to the language. This 'relatively high' number, however, based on the 250 line random sample is a mere 3.6% (9 of 250), however.

It should be noted that in each sample, the number of lines refers to lines of raw text within the corpus, not grammatical sentences. It can thus be assumed that in general the frequencies reported on the previous page are correct. If we consider that references to 'Chinese' generally refer to spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese in the Hong Kong context (Cheng and Tang, 2016: 19) we can propose that it is possible that the language that is referred to least frequently may in fact be Putonghua / Mandarin.

5.2 Collocation

The second set of results drawn from the corpus concern the words that describe the various languages and varieties found in the corpus. The T-Score is used to determine the statistical significance of collocation within the corpus and is described below.

5.2.1 T-Score

The T-Score measures the frequency of collocations and their statistical significance in corpora. Using this statistical measure can tell us much with regards to the strength of collocation between two words within corpora.

Cheng describes the function of the T-Score as follows:

> [The T-Score is used]...to determine whether two words co-occur by chance or whether they are co-selected by the speaker or writer and so their association is significant. This is because it is generally felt that relying purely on raw frequencies

is too unreliable a guide as to the strength of association between collocates. (2012: 94)

The T-Score is therefore used in this study in order to demonstrate the statistical significance of certain collocates, i.e., in order to assess the likelihood that two words, for example, *fluent* and 'Putonghua' will occur together and how strong this collocation might be. These statistical scores tell us not only how likely it is that two words will occur together within the corpus but allow us to infer how frequently two words, in general, might occur, thus giving us an idea of how Putonghua might be described in job advertisements in Hong Kong more generally, i.e., job advertisements not contained within this corpus.

There are however issues to consider when using statistical measures to report on the strength of collocation between two words within a corpus. The production of language is of course not something that 'happens by chance.' We know that when language is produced it is produced systematically based on patterns of co-selection (Cheng, 2012: 96) and so using statistical measures to suggest that two or more words appearing together is a matter of happenstance (ibid.) would be nonsensical.

In the context of the current study, however, there is no implication that any of the language analyzed within the corpus occurs by chance and rather it is recognized that it is likely that certain words will collocate with another word - we know from the data (by reading several hundred examples of job advertisements from jobsdb.com) that language varieties will be described using certain words in job advertisements, we want to know if specific language varieties have a significant relationship with specific words that indicate proficiency. In this context, therefore, statistical measures are a valuable tool for assessing which words collocate, and how frequently and indeed how significant this is.

5.2.2 Collocation Results

Using the roughly 20,000 job advertisements collected, five named language varieties (English, Chinese, Putonghua, Mandarin, and Cantonese) were identified for the study and their collocation with various descriptors analyzed in order to assess the way in which job advertisements describe desired language competencies for employment. It should be noted that other language varieties were also named within the corpus, such as Japanese and Korean, however these languages were not deemed pertinent to the present study. The three pertinent languages to Hong Kong - English, Cantonese and Putonghua / Mandarin have been isolated, and their collocation with certain descriptors analyzed using statistical measures. It is necessary; at least in the initial stages of analysis, to include separate analyses for 'Putonghua' and 'Mandarin' as these both appear in the corpus as independent words. 'Chinese' has also been identified as a language variety for corpus analysis as many job advertisements refer to Chinese proficiency. It is assumed in the majority of these advertisements, that the Chinese in question is spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese, however as this cannot be categorically proven in all instances, the results for Cantonese and Chinese are considered separately. The summarized analysis combines the results for Mandarin and Putonghua.

The descriptors selected for analysis are as follows:

Table 5: Frequency of Selected Descriptors in Corpus

Descriptor	**Frequency in Corpus**
advantage	6,124
command	5,785
required	5,043
ability	3,889
proficiency	3,330
proficient	3,243
fluent	2,281
fluency	901
native	606
speaker	284

These words have been selected as a result of a manual analysis of the job advertisements that was undertaken prior to the corpus study that indicated that these words were commonly used to describe the expected language proficiencies of the job applicant within the job advertisements. Some of the words selected are used relatively infrequently, such as *speaker*, and some, such as *advantage*, can obviously be found in areas unrelated to linguistic competency and thus have a much higher frequency.

The T-Score, rating the strength of the collocation between the selected descriptors and the language varieties has been provided for each collocation result in Tables 6 and 7.

Based on a manual analysis of the general structure of job advertisements on JobsDB, specific ranges have been selected in order to avoid unreliable results. These ranges refer to the distance between the two words. To illustrate this point, the following example has been taken from the corpus:

> **Fluent** English language skills both spoken and written, Chinese Mandarin and Cantonese a plus.

Focusing on the word *fluent*, the language variety it refers to is 'English' which occurs one word after it. On analysis of several hundred more examples from the corpus, it was found that in general, the language variety that the word *fluent* refers to is generally found one or two words after the word itself. The other most common phrasing is "*fluent* in..." which would mean that the language variety occurs *two* words after the word *fluent*. In the above example, if *fluent* is taken to be *Word 1* and English is taken to be *Word 2*, then a range of -1 / 1, one word behind and one word in front of, would be most suitable. As "*fluent* in..." is also a common way in which job advertisements describe expected language proficiency a range of -2 / 2 has been selected for generating statistical scores for the collocation between the word *fluent* and the selected language varieties. Each of the descriptors below had their ranges decided using the same process. There are instances in which job advertisements ask for the candidate to be "*fluent* in *language 1* and *language 2.*" It was however felt that in order to offer the most reliable results, that these advertisements must be considered within the margin of error of these kinds of studies. Testing evidenced that broadening the range of potential collocates, unfortunately, yields far less reliable results.

Below are the five language varieties identified for analysis and the selected descriptors, with the highest T-score highlighted in bold.

Table 6: Descriptors, Ranges, Language Varieties & T-Scores

Descriptor	Range	English	Mandarin	Putonghua	Cantonese	Chinese
ability	-4/4	**11.856**	6.727	3.859	5.577	8.238
advantage	-3/3	5.074	14.621	**14.818**	3.839	5.077
command	-2/2	**65.783**	20.935	10.633	23.723	35.539
fluent	-2/2	**27.902**	13.136	9.835	18.249	13.202
native	-1/1	**17.499**	4.011	2.160	6.100	1.212
proficient	-2/2	14.258	12.494	7.155	7.406	**15.312**
required	-2/2	**6.977**	6.528	4.501	4.977	6.173
speaker	-1/1	**11.167**	5.251	0	4.651	0

In order to get a clearer picture of the situation regarding Mandarin and Putonghua in the extracted job advertisements, the average T-score for Mandarin and Putonghua has been taken and compared alongside the scores for English below. English and Putonghua / Mandarin have been compared as two languages considered 'not *native*' to Hong Kong:

Table 7: Descriptors, T-Scores for English & Average T-Scores for Putonghua / Mandarin

Descriptor	English	Putonghua / Mandarin
ability	**11.856**	5.293
advantage	5.074	**14.720**
command	**65.783**	15.784
fluent	**27.902**	11.486
native	**17.499**	3.086
proficient	**14.258**	9.826
required	**6.977**	5.515
speaker	**11.167**	5.251

Examining the results, English presents the highest T-score and therefore has the strongest collocation with the majority of the selected descriptors. It is important to note that the T-score reports on the statistical relationship between the language variety and the descriptor and therefore it is not only that English appears more frequently within the corpus but rather the likelihood that a certain word will appear with English, as opposed to another language is significant.

When comparing the T-scores for the selected descriptors and English and Putonghua / Mandarin, all scores indicate the strongest collocation results for English and any given descriptor except for job advertisements describing proficiency in one of the languages as an *advantage*. This means that English is seldom described as an *advantage* in the 20,000 job advertisements analyzed, whereas Putonghua / Mandarin is more frequently described in this manner.

6 Interpretation of Results

In terms of absolute frequency, English is mentioned as a named variety within the corpus more than any other language variety. We can also be quite sure that when reference is made to English, it refers to the language in almost all cases and not something else - this was evidenced in the line sample for instances of the word English and the kind of situations it appears in. As mentioned previously however, frequency alone does not tell us a great deal about the way that language is *used* within a corpus. Below a selection of the identified descriptors are analyzed in more detail in order to demonstrate how these words are used to describe language and linguistic proficiency within the corpus of job advertisements and offer a broader interpretation of what implications these have Hong Kong's sociolinguistic landscape.

6.1 *Ability*

Table 8: T-Scores for Collocation of *Ability*

Descriptor	**English**	**Putonghua / Mandarin**
ability	**11.856**	5.293

The word *ability* presents a relatively high collocation score with 'English' and a relatively low collocation score with Putonghua / Mandarin. This means that there is a statistically higher chance that job advertisements within this corpus will refer to English *ability* and a much lower chance that they will refer to Putonghua / Mandarin *ability*. Below are four random examples of the word *ability* being used in contexts relating to English:

1. *Ability to communicate English & Chinese efficiently, effectively and accurately, in particular with legal, regulatory and corporate requirements.*
2. *Fluency in both English and Chinese, ability to read and converse in Mandarin is critical.*
3. *Excellent bilingual ability in both English and Chinese (traditional and simplified).*
4. *Outstanding interpersonal and communication skills as well as outstanding bilingual oral and written abilities in English and Chinese (Mandarin is an advantage).*

Of these four examples, English and Chinese are always paired and it is noted that *ability* in both of these languages is *required*. When we examine examine use of the word *ability* in the context of Putonghua / Mandarin, we can see some differences:

1. *Good communication and language skills - English/Cantonese (ability to speak Mandarin a definite plus).*
2. *Excellent ability of English/Cantonese communication and Mandarin is preferred.*
3. *Good language ability in English and Mandarin.*
4. *Fluent in spoken and written English and Chinese (Cantonese), Mandarin ability is important.*

Firstly, in each of the above examples *ability* in Putonghua / Mandarin is noted as an additional skill of importance, however in all but example three, not as important as English and Cantonese / Chinese, which are listed before Putonghua / Mandarin. Two of the above examples note that fluency is *required* in these languages, but not necessarily in Putonghua / Mandarin. We can see that when the word *ability* is used in these job advertisements, there is often a preference for *ability* in English and 'Chinese', with Putonghua / Mandarin being a third consideration in terms of linguistic competency. This is reinforced by the T-scores for *ability* and 'English' and *ability* and 'Putonghua / Mandarin.'

6.2 *Advantage*

Table 9: T-Scores for Collocation of *Advantage*

Descriptor	**English**	**Putonghua / Mandarin**
advantage	5.074	**14.720**

When we examine the statistical significance of the links between the selected language varieties and the selected descriptors, collocation indicates that most of the identified descriptors collocate most strongly with English - this is evidenced by their high T-Scores. The only descriptor that has better collocation with Putonghua / Mandarin is the word *advantage*. This would suggest that when job advertisements use the word *advantage*, relating to an applicant's *ability* in a specific language, it is statistically more likely, at least within this corpus, that that language will be Putonghua / Mandarin.

Based on this, if we examine four random examples of instances from the corpus where the word *advantage* is used alongside Putonghua / Mandarin we find the following:

1. *...excellent command of written and spoken English and Chinese is essential. Fluency in Putonghua would be an advantage.*
2. *Good command in spoken and written English (Knowledge of Putonghua is a definite advantage.)*
3. *Excellent command of written and spoken Chinese and English, Putonghua is an advantage.*
4. *Proficient in spoken and written English and Chinese, fluent Putonghua is an added advantage.*

When Putonghua / Mandarin is referred to as an *advantage*, it tends to be the case that the other two language varieties, English and 'Chinese,' if mentioned, are referred to as essential, or at the very least, not as an *advantage*. This is important as it indicates that in order to find employment in Hong Kong, proficiency in Putonghua, whilst beneficial, is not an absolute requirement for employment, at least within this corpus of job advertisements. Many job advertisements (the absolute majority of job advertisements that mention language proficiency) however indicate that proficiency in English and Chinese (most likely spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese) are a requirement for employment. On the one hand, this indicates that Hong Kong's official language policy is representative of the language needs of the

Special Administrative Region and on the other it demonstrates the enduring societal importance of the English language in Hong Kong. One could argue that the fact that Putonghua / Mandarin is quite regularly referred to as an *advantage* indicates that Putonghua / Mandarin currently lacks the social prestige of English and the social functionality of Cantonese - Li indicates that this was the case in 1999 and it certainly would appear that this alignment of language status, at least in the domain of employment, has shifted less than might have been expected in the last sixteen years.

6.3 *Command*

Table 10: T-Scores for Collocation of *Command*

Descriptor	**English**	**Putonghua / Mandarin**
command	**34.198**	5.864

The word *command* appears relatively frequently in the corpus, it is the most common descriptor selected for analysis after the word *advantage*. It also has one of the most dramatic difference in T-Scores for English and Putonghua / Mandarin. Four examples of the kinds of situations that *command* occur in with English and 'Putonghua / Mandarin' are given below:

1. *Good command of English & Chinese (both written and spoken).*
2. *Good command of English, Cantonese and Putonghua.*
3. *Good command of English and Chinese.*
4. *Good command of English language.*

In the above examples, we can see that English is listed first with the other language varieties of interest following. Although seemingly innocuous, the order in which these languages are listed within these job advertisements should be considered of interest. We must question the intent of the advertisement writer when they decided that English should be listed first, followed by the other language varieties. We could argue that this is simply happenstance, that the fact that English is listed first has no particular meaning. This is unlikely however and we must assume that there is some level of authorial intent behind the order in which these languages are listed, since English tends to appear first in the absolute majority of these job advertisements.

The fact that English is listed first suggests it is the most important language within the job advertisement, however the T-Scores for the other languages being considered are not particularly low, just nowhere near as high as that of English. If we examine specific examples of collocation between Putonghua / Mandarin and the word *command* we get the following:

1. *Good command of English and Mandarin.*
2. *Good command of Mandarin is a definite advantage.*
3. *Good command of both English and Mandarin.*
4. *Good command in English and Mandarin & Japanese Speaking preferable.*

In the above examples, English still tends to appear as the first language listed and there are no examples within the corpus where an advertisement asks for a good *command* of Mandarin, without requesting *ability* in another language or without listing said *command* as an *advantage*, but not a requirement.

6.4 *Fluent*

Table 11: T-Scores for Collocation of *Fluent*

Descriptor	**English**	**Putonghua / Mandarin**
fluent	**27.902**	11.486

The word *fluent* likewise presents interesting results in terms of its comparative collocations with English and Mandarin / Putonghua.

1. *Fluent English language skills both spoken and written a must, Chinese Mandarin and Cantonese a plus.*
2. *Fluent in written and oral English.*
3. *Fluent in written and spoken English.*
4. *Fluent English communication skills, both written and spoken essential.*

Very frequently when fluency in English is mentioned it is indicated that both written and spoken English is *required* however when *fluent* is used in reference to expected Putonghua / Mandarin competency, such a distinction is not made:

1. *High proficiency in both English and Chinese, fluent in Putonghua preferred.*
2. *Fluent Putonghua and English as well as good negotiation and interpersonal skills are required.*
3. *Excellent command of both written and spoken English and Cantonese; fluent in Putonghua is preferable.*
4. *...fluent in Putonghua is definitely an advantage.*

The reason for this can likely be found in the fact that written Putonghua is very nearly one in the same as written Standard Chinese (Shi, 2016: 730). As Hong Kong schoolchildren learn written Standard Chinese at school as the standard written language in Hong Kong, there is, therefore, no need to ask for additional competency in the written language.

6.5 *Native*

Table 12: T-Scores for Collocation of *Native*

Descriptor	**English**	**Putonghua / Mandarin**
native	**17.499**	3.086

Based on the T-Scores for the collocation between the words 'English' and *native* and 'Putonghua' / 'Mandarin' and *native*, we can see that job advertisements relatively frequently refer to '*native* English speakers' and conversely relatively infrequently to '*native* Mandarin / Putonghua speakers.' This is particularly interesting in that, as was noted at the beginning of this paper, *native* Putonghua speakers account for 4.7% of the population in Hong Kong and *native* English speakers for just 0.6% (Bacon-Shone et. al, 2015: 16). We could assume that there are not a wealth of job advertisements in Hong Kong specifically targeting 0.6% of the population and conclude that the word *native* in this context means something else. It is possible that these advertisements are not really targeting *native* speakers in the sense of L1 users, but rather those with so-called 'near-native competency' (Bhatia, 2001: 49). Another possibility is that many of these advertisements are in fact targeting Hong Kong's comparatively small expatriate population. Examining closer the concordance lines for instances of the use of the word *native* and 'English' we find that in general, this word is often used to refer to NETs or 'Native English Teachers.' The fact that 'English' is often used, alongside *native*, in the context of English Language Teaching reflects the economic importance of this industry in Hong Kong and the ways in which *native ability* in English can lead to the monetization of the ELT profession in general (Mahboob, 2011: 46).

1. *...looking for native English teachers for children from 3 to 12 years old*
2. *...excellent English (native speakers or close to native level)*
3. *...Native English speaker, with minimum 1 year of experience in teaching.*
4. *...Native English speaker. Must be able to teach both Art and English.*

When the word *native* is used alongside Mandarin / Putonghua, however, the job advertisement in question tends not to refer exclusively to the educational sector:

1. *Local Native with Mandarin. Ability to handle multi-task, good initiative with proactive approach. Good computer skills...*
2. *Part-time Native Mandarin speakers to teach Mandarin and English.*
3. *...communication and time management skills. Native Speaker in Mandarin.*
4. **Station in Shanghai* Prefer candidate who Native in Mandarin, can work in Shanghai*

Unless one belongs to the just over 5% of the Hong Kong population that does not speak Cantonese as the L1, then it is unlikely that any of the above advertisements are actually looking for L1 speakers of either English or Putonghua / Mandarin in all instances. Evidence of this can be found in the second example sentence for '*native* English' that asks for '*native* speakers or close to *native* level' - suggesting that there is an imagined scale of competency with *native* being the highest level of competency. The very concept of the '*native* speaker' is of course controversial and difficult to quantify - what qualifies one as a *native* speaker and can one even *become* a *native* speaker (Davies, 2003: 3)? The first extract for '*native* Mandarin / Putonghua' is interesting in that it asks for a 'local *native* with Mandarin' - presumably in this case the advertisement is referring not to an applicant '*native* in' Mandarin, but rather a '*native* to Hong Kong' with competency in Mandarin. It should be noted that in the case of English, many of these advertisements could potentially be targeting the expatriate, non-Chinese language speaking population in Hong Kong, however, this would account for less than 1% of the population according to the 2011 Hong Kong Census.

Collocation indicates that the way that 'Putonghua' / 'Mandarin' is treated within this corpus of job advertisements is not the same as or equal to the way that 'English' and 'Chinese' / 'Cantonese' are treated. 'Putonghua' / 'Mandarin' occur less than both 'English' and 'Chinese' as a named language variety within the corpus. The way that other words interact with 'Putonghua' / 'Mandarin', particularly English, is different, both in terms of the statistical significance of certain descriptors with 'Putonghua' / 'Mandarin' when compared to that of English and the use of the word *advantage* to describe required proficiency in 'Putonghua' / 'Mandarin' for employment in Hong Kong.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Summary

This paper has looked at the position of Putonghua within a collection of job advertisements collected from a popular online jobs listing database in Hong Kong. Using corpus linguistic methods this paper found that whilst Putonghua is relatively frequently mentioned in the collected job advertisements, it is mentioned less frequently than both 'Chinese' and English, but more frequently than Cantonese. The way that the word 'Putonghua' is referred to in these job advertisements was then examined alongside specific descriptors using statistical measures of collocation. It was found that English is generally described as a prerequisite for employment within these advertisements but seldom as an *advantage*. Conversely, it was found that Putonghua is seldom described as an absolute requirement for employment but often as an *advantage*. This tells us that whilst Putonghua is certainly made reference to within the collected job advertisements, its socioeconomic status appears to be less than that of English.

7.2 Concluding Thoughts

The status of Putonghua in Hong Kong is complex, arguably more so than the status of English. English was the language of Hong Kong's colonial administration from the years 1841 - 1997. It is quite clearly a 'foreign' or 'non-native' language to the region and its position in Hong Kong

was established quite early on as a language of socioeconomic benefit, despite being tied to the colonial regime. Putonghua, on the other hand, is certainly not a language variety *native* to Hong Kong, but at the same time, it is not quite non-native either. Putonghua can be described as a something in between a first and second language in the context of Hong Kong (Ho, 2011: 18). It is not simply the linguistic status of Putonghua however that makes its position in Hong Kong complex. Putonghua is the official language of the People's Republic of China and there is, in some circles, the fear that any advance of Putonghua in Hong Kong could have an adverse effect on the status of Cantonese. This worry is one that is perhaps rooted in the treatment of Cantonese in Guangdong Province in the People's Republic of China (Zhu, 2014: 225). The linguistic situation in Hong Kong regarding the statuses of Cantonese, English and Putonghua is unique. Many regions around the world quite obviously have experienced and experience 'power struggles' relating to the ways in which certain languages are used in society, however in the case of Hong Kong, complications arise both due to the relatedness of Cantonese and Putonghua, in terms of linguistic affiliation, and in terms of the ideological burden that both languages carry.

Corpus analysis shows that whilst Putonghua is certainly visible in job advertisements in the Hong Kong edition of JobsDB, it is less frequently described as a requirement for employment and rather, English and 'Chinese' tend to rank above Putonghua in terms of their socioeconomic status. Despite efforts by the Hong Kong Legislative Council to promote the acquisition of Putonghua in Hong Kong, it is likely that current attitudes towards Putonghua will persist until such a time that Putonghua is viewed as more economically beneficial in Hong Kong and less as a marker of the possible loss of the Hong Kong identity, which is currently firmly entrenched in Cantonese (Lai, 2001: 13.)

7.3 Future Research Directions

It would be desirable to repeat the processes outlined in this paper with a corpus of job advertisements written entirely in Chinese. This would allow us to ascertain if there might be some difference in the way that specific language varieties are referenced in job advertisements in Hong Kong based on the language that the job advertisement is written in. It would additionally be interesting to conduct a similar study on more specific sectors of employment in Hong Kong, perhaps using the 24 sectors of employment outlined by JobsDB as a template. This would allow us to examine if specific employment sectors in Hong Kong might have different linguistic requirements. It is to be expected that sectors such as 'government' and 'education' may have very specific linguistic requirements, less is known about other sectors, however.

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The Use of the Putonghua Subject as a Vehicle for a Pan-Chinese Identity

Abstract

In April 2015, a meeting of a Hong Kong Legislative Council Panel discussed the potential for using Putonghua, as opposed to Cantonese, to teach the 'Chinese Language Subject' within the Hong Kong curriculum. Their primary reason for making this suggestion was based on the idea that Putonghua and the Han Chinese ethnicity are somehow inherently linked - if you are Han Chinese, you *should* be able to speak Putonghua. This paper discusses the validity of this assertion and examines language-in-education policy related to Putonghua in Hong Kong from the late-colonial period and the contemporary period to establish if Putonghua is used by the Hong Kong Legislative Council to encourage Hong Kong pupils to identify with a pan-Chinese ethnicity and by dint, a pan-Chinese language, Putonghua.

1 Introduction

Issues of language and identity in Hong Kong are often loaded with political connotations and questions of ethnic belonging. Like many aspects of cultural identity that are tied to ethnic belonging, the notion that one *should* speak a specific language based on their ancestry or their ethnic affiliation would be difficult to defend against a charge of racism; but the aim of this paper is neither to make nor refute such a charge, rather to look more closely at its implications for educational and social policy. In Hong Kong, the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is Cantonese with 89.1% of respondents in a 2015 survey reporting it as their 'mother tongue' (Bacon-Shone et al, 2015: 18). Curiously however, Cantonese is not listed as an official language in Hong Kong and rather, it is a nondescript 'Chinese', in addition to English that are declared the region's official languages in Article 9 of its Basic Law.[1] In the Hong Kong context 'Chinese' is generally considered to be *spoken* Cantonese and *written* Modern Standard Chinese (Cheng and Tang, 2016: 19). It can however, depending on who you speak to, also refer to Putonghua. 4.7% of respondents in the aforementioned survey reported that Putonghua was their 'mother tongue'. Are these 4.7% of speakers any *more* Chinese than the 89.1% of respondents that declared Cantonese their mother tongue? Are they somehow *more* Han Chinese? Obviously not, and yet, the Hong Kong Legislative Council claimed in 2015 that the primary aim of the Putonghua subject in the Hong Kong curriculum is to:

> ...enable students to master the common spoken language of [*sic*] Han nationality and to give them an advantage of communicating effectively in Putonghua....as well as enhancing students' knowledge about the language and Chinese culture.

This paper demonstrates that the very idea that the so-called 'Han nationality' share a common language is debatable at best and that furthermore, the idea that Putonghua should

[1] This is discussed in detail in the first paper included in this thesis.

be used as a vehicle for transmitting Chinese culture in Hong Kong is politically motivated - after all, Chinese culture can just as easily be transmitted through Cantonese. It is important to stress that this paper is not critiquing the idea of teaching Putonghua in Hong Kong and that rather, this paper is critiquing the use of language as a subversive tool to reform the Hong Kong identity to be more in line with an ideologically sterilized 'pan-Chinese' identity.

Section 2 of this paper explores previous works on the links between language and ethnicity, exploring the ways in which language can be used, both purposefully and organically, to express a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group or a sense of differentiation from another ethnic group. Section 3 then looks more specifically at the idea of the 'Han ethnicity' and what exactly this means in the context of Hong Kong and more generally, in greater China. Section 4 looks at how Putonghua as a language, and in particular as a school subject, is currently taught in Hong Kong and examines the way in which the Putonghua subject is used as a vehicle to transmit ideas of a pan-Chinese culture and identity. Section 4 looks at foundational documents on language-in-education policy from before the transfer of sovereignty in 1997. These documents are as follows:

- A Perspective on Education in Hong Kong - 1982
- Education Commission Reports (ECR) 1, 2, 4, 5 & 6 - 1984 - 1996[2]

These documents have been selected for analysis as they represent perhaps the largest and officially mandated colonial investigation into language-use in Hong Kong schools and also were written at a time when Putonghua was not yet fully incorporated into the Hong Kong curriculum. These documents therefore offer an insight into the development of Putonghua in Hong Kong, in terms of its place within the curriculum, prior to Hong Kong becoming a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China.

Section 5 then examines the position of Putonghua as a core subject within Hong Kong's present curriculum with reference to curriculum planning documentation published by the Education Bureau, the documents selected for analysis in this section are as follows:

- Basic Education Curriculum Guide - To Sustain, Deepen and Focusing on Learning to Learn (Primary 1-6) - 2014
- Chinese Language Education & Learning Area, Putonghua Course Guidelines, Primary 1 - Secondary 3 - 2017[3]

These documents represent the most up-to-date information on the position of Putonghua within the Hong Kong curriculum. Analysis of both sets of documents, in Section 4 and 5, allow for a thorough investigation into the contemporary position of Putonghua in Hong Kong and the development of this position over the last thirty-five years.

[2]Education Commission Report No. 3 is not examined as it does not concern language-in-education policy relating to Putonghua.

[3]Original document is published in Modern Standard Chinese and is titled " 中國語文教育學習領域, 普通話科課程指引（小一至中三)", quoted sections are author's own translation.

2 Literature Review

2.1 The 'Idea' of Ethnicity

Ethnicity is a complex topic to discuss as it refers to something intangible, something that is very often based on a collection of shared beliefs and principles, but not on anything that exists or that is immediately indexable in the 'real world' (Reyes, 2010: 398). It is generally accepted that ethnicity (and race) are social constructs, i.e., are beliefs that have been constructed by people and not by nature (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985). Nonetheless, even though we may argue as linguists or as social scientists that 'ethnicity' is purely a construct, and not based on anything that exists in a solid state, it is clear that human beings, by their very nature, are very much attached to the idea of ethnicity as something that one can belong to, relate to and indeed, possess. Ethnicity can be a powerful marker of identity that shapes the way in which people come to understand and experience their social worlds (Reyes, 2010: 399) and indeed can be instrumentalized by governments and educational bodies in order shape the ethnic identities of a population.

Waters (1990: 147) discusses ethnic identity with regards to white middle-class Americans *claiming* an identity in order to communicate something to the wider community - those who share this *claimed* ethnic identity and those who do not. It is important to note here that Waters is describing a choice. She notes that claiming this identity:

> ...does not determine where you will live, who your friends will be, what job you will have, or whether you will be subject to discrimination. It matters only in voluntary ways - in celebrating holidays with a special twist, cooking a special ethnic meal (or at least calling a meal by a special ethnic name), remembering a special phrase or two in a foreign language. (1990: 147)

It is therefore obvious that ethnicity can be a choice for some, perhaps for those privileged few, but for many, often non-white people, ethnicity is less of a choice and more of an imposition, one that is imposed by those in power. As Waters puts it, (in the American context):

> The social and political consequences of being Asian or Hispanic or black are not symbolic for the most part, or voluntary. They are real and often hurtful. (1990: 156)

It is clear therefore that ethnicity is something that is somewhat malleable, for some. For those already in a position of relative power, claiming an ethnic identity can be a way in which to celebrate one's ancestry or to identify with a certain group of people. For others, ethnicity can be a way in which they are oppressed and subverted by those that possess power. Ethnicity therefore very much plays a part in defining power-relations between different groups of people and is very much driven by ideological concerns.

It is important to note that ethnicity often has little to do with 'race' - the colour of one's skin *may* play a part in shaping one's ethnic identity but it is absolutely not the only characteristic that can do so. Bailey (2002), for instance, notes that Dominican Americans can construct and perform their ethnic identity not on the basis of their skin colour or physical appearance, but rather based on their use of Spanish, English or both. In the case of Hong Kong, identity has little

to do with race but rather focuses on a sense of cultural belonging, very often centered around whether one considers their identity be solely 'Hong Konger', solely 'Chinese', or a mixture of both. The University of Hong Kong has polled a sample of the population on their ethnic identity since 1997, two to six times per year, the below table summarizes the shift in self-claimed ethnic identity in Hong Kong from 1997 - 2017 (Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong, 2017):

Table 1: Ethnic Identity of Sample of Hong Kong Populations in 1997 & 2017

Date of Survey	Sample Size	Hong Konger	Hong Konger in China	Chinese in Hong Kong	Chinese	Mixed Identity	Other	Don't Know
August 1997	532	34.9%	24.8%	20.1%	18.6%	44.9%	0.4%	1.3%
June 2017	1004	37.3%	26.0%	14.0%	20.9%	40.0%	1.4%	1.0%

As we can see from the above, the way that people perceive their identity in Hong Kong has changed somewhat over the last twenty years, with slightly more respondents claiming an identity specifically related to Hong Kong (Hong Konger or Hong Konger in China) and also slightly more claiming to be *only* Chinese. This move towards two distinct identities, one centred on being from Hong Kong and the other centred on being from China, coincides with recent tensions between two distinct ideologies in Hong Kong - a pro-Chinese ideology, and a pro-Hong Kong (independent to China) ideology. Lowe and Tsang (2017: 156) additionally note that more radical expressions of ethnic identity in Hong Kong are a result of increasing concern with the PRC's influence in the region and that this concern is often expressed by means of a strong sense of Hong Kong localism. Ethnicity is therefore something that can "shift across interactional contexts in relation to the local ideological divisions that are created between groups" (Reyes, 2010: 400).

It should also be noted that the conflict in Hong Kong between a 'mainland Chinese' identity and a 'Hong Kong' identity, is partly due to the differing histories of the two regions and partly due to the changing status of the PRC internationally. Joy et al. (2018: 13) note with regards to the luxury consumption habits of Hong Kong and mainland Chinese shoppers in Hong Kong that:

> Professionals and upwardly mobile consumers in Hong Kong position themselves as cultural elites by orienting their identities around Westernized consumption practices, establishing themselves as refined citizens. Accustomed to taste and class-based behavior, thanks to strategically acquired habitus, they see themselves as having a cosmopolitan identity first and a Chinese identity second (Mathews, 2001; Siu, 1993: 32–33). Yet, behavior that once effectively established Hong Kongese' superiority over PRC consumers no longer works because the latter does not acknowledge such behaviors as status displays. Our Hong Kong participants experience a complex of emotions that Illouz (2009) identifies as the background emotions of envy, resentment, and status anxiety; they turn to short-term adaptive strategies, employed deliberately to manipulate the cultural capital code: expressing nostalgic longing, avoiding specific places frequented by Mainlanders, maintaining discreet and orderly

> behavior within luxury stores, rejecting products bought by Mainlanders, responding reluctantly to sales representatives who presume that Mandarin is appropriate when greeting a customer, and consuming luxury products in ways that avoid direct confrontation with Mainland Chinese.

It is therefore apparent that a complex interaction between two conflicting and often competing identities is taking place in Hong Kong. It is notable that Joy et al. (2013) found that Hong Kongers were reluctant to interact with sales representatives that spoke to them in Mandarin (Putonghua), further demonstrating the complex link between language and identity in Hong Kong. It also worth noting that Hong Kong culture, which naturally informs and constructs the Hong Kong identity, has been described as representing a sort of 'in-between-ness', neither Eastern/traditional/conservative nor Western/modern/liberal (Chau et al. 2018). The Hong Kong ethnic identity is thus inherently complex and intrinsically fluid.

Since ethnicity is something that is socially constructed, as has been noted above, there must therefore be some way in which this construction is communicated; this is usually through language or other semiotic means (Reyes, 2010: 401). In Hong Kong, the Hong Kong identity is communicated primarily by means of Cantonese. Cantonese *indexes* you as a Hong Konger - though it is important to note that Cantonese has not often been regarded as a language of social mobility in Hong Kong. Like in many postcolonial societies, this is English, the language of the former colonialists. (Sun, 2002: 295).

The following subsection deals specifically with how language 'marks' or indexes specific ethnicities and examines literature regarding the study of language and ethnicity pertinent to the current work.

2.2 The Link Between Language & Ethnicity

When we discuss language and ethnicity, we primarily (though not always) are speaking of the language used by ethnic groups not in positions of high power - those ethnicities that are 'marked' against the normative power-holding ethnicities. Reyes (2010) notes:

> Much - though certainly not all - cross-national research finds that speech varieties spoken by ethnic groups in less powerful positions are often stigmatized while the speech varieties spoken by dominant ethnic groups are not. Dominant group varieties are often institutionalized as the unmarked, normative standard, while subordinate group varieties accrue a litany of negative evaluations, such as 'bad', 'lazy', 'uneducated', and 'corrupt', resulting in a type of iconicity (Gal and Irvine, 1995) that maps such evaluations of speech onto the people who use that speech. (Reyes, 2010: 404)

The language varieties of specific ethnic groups are often used by other groups to demonstrate something about that ethnic group - African American English (AAE), for example, marks its speakers as African American and also tells other groups, based on the ideological associations of AAE, that the speaker may live in a specific area, what social class they might belong to and what age they might be (Rickford, 1996). Similarly, the use of Spanish and / or English in the United States of America by those that identify as Latin@ or Hispanic plays an important

part in the self-construction and indeed, 'imposed construction' of a Latin@ or Hispanic identity (Fought, 2003). In Northern Ireland, whether or not you identify as 'British' or 'Irish' is a matter of cultural and political significance - language has often played a role in this distinction. Those that identify as 'British' may take ownership of the English language and perhaps even Ulster Scots, a variety of Scots used in Northern Ireland. Those that identify as Irish on the other hand, may fight for the recognition of Irish as a language of Northern Ireland and use the Irish language as a way in which to mark their identity and demonstrate their belonging to a specific ethnic group - the Irish (Mac Giolla Chríost and Aitchison, 1998, O'Reilly, 1999, Zenker, 2014).

In the above settings, the language varieties being discussed are not the majority languages of the population and are generally used to communicate a specific minority identity - Hong Kong is therefore somewhat different. In Hong Kong, the absolute majority of the population claim the same first language - Cantonese (Bacon-Shone et al., 2015). It is therefore Cantonese that plays a part in the formation of a specific Hong Kong ethnicity and identity. Hong Kong, however; is not an independent nation state, rather it is a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of the People's Republic of China. The People's Republic of China has encoded Putonghua (a standardized variant of Mandarin) as the region's official language and therefore Putonghua is associated with 'Chinese identity' - if you're Chinese you *should* speak Chinese, meaning Putonghua. The idea of governments supporting the use of Mandarin as the national standard, based on the claim that if you are Chinese you should speak 'standard' Chinese is something well attested in the language planning initiatives of several countries that have a sizable Chinese population - Singapore's many "Speak Mandarin" campaigns (讲华语运动, *jiǎng huáyǔ yùndòng*), the PRC's own ongoing "Promotion of Putonghua" campaign (推广普通话, *(tuīguang pǔtōnghuà)* and Taiwan's "Mandarin Promotion Council" (國語推行委員會, *guóyǔ tuīxíng wěiyuánhuì)*.[4] Hong Kong has yet to have a specifically named government approved campaign for the promotion of Putonghua as *the Chinese language* of Hong Kong - the political consequences and potential public backlash of this could be quite severe - but it has stepped up its promotion of Putonghua, primarily as a language of the biliterate and trilingual policy, in the last 13 years. The following section looks at how language education can be used as a means of promoting a specific idea of ethnicity.

2.3 Language Education & Linguistic Imperialism

When we discuss language education and ethnicity we are often concerned with minority language provision for minority groups within certain societies. See for instance Byram (1986), Fishman (1991), Crawford (1994), Genesee and Lindholm-Leary (2013) and Li and Moore (2017). Hong Kong is different in that we are not looking at the provision of a minority language - Putonghua is by no means a minority language and Cantonese is the dominant L1 for the majority of the population - rather we are looking at how a specific language, Putonghua in this case, might be used as a vehicle to transmit a pan-Chinese identity to the people of Hong Kong.

Discussing language maintenance, language policy and language education, Hornberger noted in 1998 that:

> Indigenous and immigrant languages are under attack, around the world, subjected to seemingly irresistible social, political, and economic pressures. Yet, although scholars use phrases like "endangered languages" (Hale et al. 1992) and

[4]Now known as the National Languages Promotion Committee in English.

"linguicism" (Phillipson 1992) to describe this situation, there is also accumulating evidence that language policy and language education can serve as vehicles for promoting the vitality, versatility, and stability of these languages. (1998: 439)

It is certainly the case that language education can be used as a means to protect or promote the acquisition of minority or "endangered languages". There are several examples of this in the literature, such as the provision of Scottish Gaelic medium education in Scotland (Nicolson and MacIver, 2003) or the provision of Basque medium education in the Basque Country (Zalbide and Cenoz, 2008). It is also equally true, however, that language education can be used to encourage identification with a specific identity or even to discourage association with another identity. In the case of Hong Kong, this has often manifested itself through medium of instruction policy. When the medium of instruction in the majority of schools in Hong Kong was changed from English to Cantonese in the years following the transfer of sovereignty, both parents and students in Hong Kong were outraged, to the surprise of the government. Though the government had expected that people would readily embrace 'mother tongue' education, the government failed to acknowledge the role of English in the construction of the Hong Kong identity - particularly its "symbolic and cultural capital", which distinguishes Hong Kongers from their PRC counterparts (Chan, 2002: 272). Likewise, the adoption of Putonghua as the primary medium of instruction for the Chinese Language Subject, or any other subject currently taught in Cantonese, would likely cause outrage within certain sections of society, for much the same reason. In many colonial societies, language education has been used as a way in which to encourage the colonized population to identify with their colonizers. In early colonial Hong Kong, for instance, English medium education was seen as a way to bring the native Hong Kong population closer in line with their colonial masters - English was established as Hong Kong's *high language* and by dint Cantonese was relegated to the status of *low language*, creating an imposed, 'critical diglossic' situation (Saxena, 2014). The *low language* of a community is generally the vernacular used by the majority of the population in routine situations whereas the *high language* is usually reserved for specific situations such as for literary works or within formal education (Ferguson, 1959). When examining the status of Putonghua in Hong Kong it is useful to look at the development of English in Hong Kong, another language not 'native' to the region that was introduced at the behest of the British colonial government. Drawing on Phillipson's theory of linguistic imperialism, which is heavily influenced by Galtung's (1971) general theory of imperialism, Boyle (1997) presents three stages of linguistic imperialism that are useful in an analysis of the development of the position of English in Hong Kong. These stages are summarized below and have been adapted from Boyle's 1997 article:

1. Early-colonial Stage - The 'blatantly compulsive' phase in which the colonial language is forced upon the people of the colonized region.

2. Neo-colonial Stage - The 'less obviously oppressive' phase in which access to education and the upper echelons of society are allowed through acquisition of the colonial language. By implication this means that the 'elite colonized' are granted access to power, previously reserved for the colonizers. The 'common' citizen is likely still denied access to this power due to a lack of competency in the colonial language.

3. The Neo-neo-colonial Stage - The final phase in which control is exerted through 'ideological

persuasion through the media and technology.' The 'elite colonized' have managed to access power through use of the H-language and are seen as aspirational goals in this phase.

Language education can be used as a way in which to deliver this 'linguistic imperialism' and encourage a shift in identity in the native population - one's linguistic repertoire can shape the way that one views their own identity (Becker, 2014), measuring one's place in society based on the acquisition of the colonial or otherwise 'imposed' language. This general theory of linguistic imperialism can arguably be applied to the introduction of Putonghua to Hong Kong to assess whether or not a solid comparison can be drawn between the emergent roles of English and Putonghua, and to identify key differences between these roles and the 'emergence patterns' of the two languages. It should be noted that drawing comparison between the two languages is ideologically quite challenging - English is most certainly a 'foreign', non-native language to Hong Kong. Depending on one's definition, Putonghua can be considered both non-native and native (Ho, 2005, postulates that Putonghua could be described as an 'L1.5', not quite first and not quite second language in Hong Kong). Thus, it could be argued that Putonghua cannot represent linguistic imperialism at all - though I will demonstrate in this paper why I believe linking Putonghua to the idea of a pan-Chinese identity does exactly that. Briefly comparing the emergent statuses of the two languages in Hong Kong, commonalities can be found between the development of English and Putonghua's statuses in Hong Kong, however the contexts, both socio-historical and linguistic, are quite different:

Table 2: The Ideological Development of English and Putonghua in Hong Kong

	English	Putonghua
Early-colonial	Establishment of elite, English-speaking ruling class. English-only government, English-only tertiary education.	Requirement that civil servants develop Putonghua proficiency. Introduction of Putonghua in government.
Neo-colonial	English-medium education.	Development of Putonghua-medium education in specific classroom subjects.
Neo-neo colonial	Idea that English leads to good jobs and therefore wealth and access to power.	Putonghua is the language of the central government (in Beijing) and Putonghua is increasingly an important language in business, thus the acquisition of Putonghua leads to wealth and power.

It should of course also be noted that globalization and particularly the 'global role' of English plays a fundamental role in securing the current status of English in Hong Kong. Law (2004: 499) notes that educational reforms in post-transfer Hong Kong have focused on the role that

English plays as a 'global language' and the importance of an English-proficient population for Hong Kong's economy. As well as the economic advantages of learning English in Hong Kong, there are identity-shaping benefits that Hong Kongers can access as speakers of English. Sung (2014) notes that speaking English in Hong Kong offers individuals the potential to tap into a 'global identity' that gives them "a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture in ELF contexts" (2014: 31). Thus, in addition to consideration of Hong Kong's colonial past with relation to the English language in Hong Kong, it is also important to consider the status that English maintains today as a result of globalization and the current role of English as the primary vehicle for that globalization (Ricento, 2018: 233).

As discussed at the beginning of this paper, an April 2015 Legislative Council meeting is one of the few times that the Hong Kong Legislative Council has directly equated Putonghua with *Chinese identity*, specifically the 'Han nationality' - the Han being one of the 56 recognized ethnicities of the People's Republic of China and the ethnicity with which most of the population identify as well. As has been demonstrated in this section, language can be used to promote a sense of ethnic belonging, or indeed separation within a population. The next section of this paper deals with the idea of the Han ethnicity, its origin, its use in the People's Republic of China and its use in Hong Kong.

3 The Han Ethnicity

3.1 Population Numbers

The Han ethnicity (漢族, *hàn zú, hon3 zuk6*) is an ethnic term denoting a group of people historically from China. The People's Republic of China's 2010 population census noted that 1,220,844,520 people belonged to the Han ethnicity, which accounts for almost 92% of the country's total population (National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China, 2010).[5] PRC census data contains entries for respondents self-identified ethnicity in terms of whether they are Han Chinese or belong to a different 'Chinese ethnicity.' Hong Kong, on the other hand, does not tend to group ethnicities in this way and rather allows people only to reply that their ethnic identity is 'Chinese' or something else entirely - there are no sub-varieties of Chinese given as options (Census and Statistics Department, 2016). The PRC officially recognizes 56 ethnic designations for its citizens (The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, 2005) though Hong Kong does not officially use this ethnic classification system. Hong Kong's Race Relations Unit does note that:

> Hong Kong is a largely homogenous [*sic*] society, with about 94% of its people being Chinese (ethnically speaking, Han Chinese).

There is therefore evidence that this term *is* used in Hong Kong, though not as much and certainly not as readily in an official capacity, like it is used in the PRC.

The following subsection examines the origin of the 'Han ethnicity' and how it came to be used differently in the PRC and in Hong Kong.

[5] Taiwan also reports that over 95% of its population are 'ethnically' Han (Republic of China Yearbook, 2017).

3.2 Origin of the 'Han Ethnicity'

The term *Han (漢, hàn, hon3)* originates from the Han Dynasty, which existed from around 206 BCE - 220 CE. The Han Dynasty is commonly considered a golden age of Chinese civilization in terms of development in the arts, political thinking and technological advancement (Zhou: 2003). The people of the Han Dynasty began to call themselves *Han people (漢人: hànrén, hon3 jan4)* and their language, the *Han Language (漢語, hànyǔ, hon3 jyu5)* - both of these terms have survived to the present day, particularly the name of the language, which is often translated as simply 'Chinese' (Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press: 125), demonstrating the domination of the Han people and Han culture with regards to 'what makes something Chinese.' The synonymous nature of the Han and of China fuels the popular stereotype, particularly in the West but also even within China, that China is "a single monoculture, populated entirely by a homogeneous Chinese population who all speak the same Chinese language and have a more or less uniform Chinese culture" (Dillon, 2016: 2079).

Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, efforts were made by the government to instil a sense of national identity amongst the dispersed and culturally divided population - this identity is simply 'Chinese' (中國人, *zhōngguórén, zung1gwok3jan4*) and it was expected that the entire population would identify as 'Chinese', regardless of what their previous identity might have been (Dillon, 2016: 2082). Within this identity, however, are 56 sub-identities based on ethnic identities recognized by the PRC. The origin of these 56 ethnicities can be traced to 1954 when social scientists undertook a survey of China's myriad of ethnic identities in order to investigate which ethnicities could be recognized by the state, for the purposes of census data and collecting other government statistics (Mullaney, 2010: 325). Mullaney summarizes the original intention of the Ethnic Classification System as follows:

> Unlike land reforms, the Ethnic Classification project was not something that the Communists had planned to carry out as part of their consolidation of power. Neither were the Communists committed to synthesizing the minority peoples of China into a small number of groups, as has been suggested. To the contrary, the CCP organized the Ethnic Classification project only as a last resort in reaction to a specific and unforeseen political crisis dating back to the early years of the PRC: the inaugural census of the People's Republic, in which the citizens of 'New China' were permitted by the census schedule and state-dispatched census workers to register their ethnonational identities at will (that is, without any categorical intervention of the state), stunned the government by self-reporting over four hundred distinct *minzu* names nation-wide - results that, if followed by the state, would have paralyzed the central government and their attempts to form a congressional system that included representatives of every *minzu* in China. (Mullaney, 2010: 327)

The original intention of the Ethnic Classification System was, therefore, to classify people according to their self-perceived identities in order to allow the functioning of a congressional system of government that would include representatives from all of the ethnicities (民族, *mínzú, man4zuk6*) - in order for this to work, the government had to reduce the number of self-perceived identities to a government approved list that would eventually number 56 ethnicities, including the Han ethnicity. This system of ethnic classification is still used in the People's Republic of

China; however, as Hong Kong was a colony of the United Kingdom at the time of the inception of the People's Republic of China, this system was not implemented in Hong Kong and Hong Kong continues to classify ethnicity in a different way.

The Hong Kong Legislative Council and indeed the colonial Hong Kong Government that came before it do not distinguish ethnicity on the same basis as the People's Republic of China does. Census data indicates that respondents can declare they are *Chinese* or another ethnicity not generally associated with China (2011 Population Census).[6] It seems, therefore, that ethnicity is something that is characterized more by *racial characteristics* as opposed to cultural or linguistic affinity in Hong Kong. This is in contrast to the designation of 56 ethnic identities legally recognized in the PRC, which are defined based on cultural and linguistic practices as opposed to racial characteristics alone.

As for what language the Han Chinese speak, though the Hong Kong Legislative Council suggest that Putonghua is the common language, the Han Chinese in fact speak a myriad of different Chinese languages, though admittedly they may use Putonghua as a 'common language.' These languages include varieties of Mandarin, Wu (such as Shanghainese), Min, Hakka and of course Yue varieties (such as Cantonese).

This section has introduced the origin of the term *Han ethnicity* and has shown its origin in China, its use by the People's Republic of China in legal terms, and its lack of use in a legal setting in Hong Kong. The next section looks specifically at the development of the Putonghua subject in contemporary Hong Kong and examines how it might be used to transmit the idea of a Pan-Chinese identity centred on the *Han ethnicity* and what this might mean for the Hong Kong identity. An investigation into the use of the curriculum as a vehicle for the transmission of a pan-Chinese identity in Hong Kong has specifically been selected as the classroom and therefore the curriculum are "inherently political" (Sarroub and Quadros, 2015: 252) and are thus a setting in which identities are created, changed and brokered and in which ideologies are negotiated between teachers, students and other stakeholders.

[6]The 2011 Hong Kong census, for instance, reports statistics for the following ethnicities: Chinese, Indonesian, Filipino, White, Indian, Pakistani, Nepalese, Japanese, Thai, Other Asian, Others.

4 The Putonghua Subject in the Hong Kong Curriculum

Whilst the attention paid to Putonghua policy in Hong Kong has increased following the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, as a school subject, Putonghua has a relatively long history in Hong Kong, albeit as a fairly neglected subject within the Hong Kong curriculum. In the late 1950s Putonghua was removed from the Primary School curriculum and in 1965 removed altogether from the Hong Kong examination syllabus, due to both a lack of competent teaching staff and a lack of interested students (Cheung-Shing and Yuen-Fan, 1996: 140). Putonghua was then not generally taught in the region for almost twenty years.

Ho (2005: 15) summarizes the phases of Putonghua education within Hong Kong's primary and middle school curriculum as follows[7]:

Table 3: Phases of Putonghua Education in Hong Kong, 1941 - Present (Adapted from He, 2005: 15)

Phase	Years	Description
'National Pronunciation'	1941-1960	Schools used zhùyn fúhào (注音符號) (a phonetic system) to learn the 'national pronunciation' or Northern Mandarin pronunciation of characters.
Nothing	1961-1980	The 'National Pronunciation'subject was scrapped and for twenty years Putonghua was not taught in government funded schools in Hong Kong.
Experimental	1981-1990	The Hong Kong Legislative Council implemented Putonghua as an independent subject from Primary 4-Secondary 3.
Popularization	1991-Present	Hong Kong's Education Department popularized the spread of Putonghua within the education system. The government announced in 1998 that Putonghua would become a core subject from Primary 1 - Secondary 3

Following the opening up of China to foreign investment in the late 1970s, Putonghua was revived as school subject in Hong Kong in the early 1980s, most likely as a result of the increasing economic worth of Putonghua and Hong Kong's growing relationship with the PRC. It was then made available as an optional, non-core subject, and was offered by around 60% of Primary Schools and 46% of Secondary Schools by the 1995-96 academic year (Cheung-Shing and Yuen-Fan, 1996: 141). The status of Putonghua was again upgraded in 1998, with Putonghua becoming a core subject in both the primary and junior-secondary curricula.

In order to investigate the development of language policy in Hong Kong pertinent to the emergent status of Putonghua within the curriculum, analysis of foundational documents from the pre-1997 era reveal how historical policy actions led to or impacted on the positioning of Putonghua in contemporary policy today.

4.1 A Perspective on Education in Hong Kong - November 1982

Commonly referred to as the *Llewellyn Report*, *A Perspective on Education in Hong Kong* is an advisory document published by a panel of visiting scholars to Hong Kong at the invitation of the colonial administration.[8] The purpose of the panel was to undertake an overall review of the education system in Hong Kong and was conducted in the autumn of 1981 over a period of two weeks. The report was then published in November, 1982.

[7] Author's own translation.

[8] The panel consisted of Sir John Llewellyn, former Director-General of the British Council, Dr Greg Hancock, Commissioner of the Australian Commonwealth Schools Commission, Prof Michael Kirst, President of the California State Board of Education and Dr Karl Roeloffs, Secretary General of the German Academic Exchange Service.

As Putonghua in Hong Kong's education system is the focus of this paper, the Llewellyn Report is analysed with this in mind. My analysis focuses on sections of the document pertinent to the exploration of the position of Putonghua in Hong Kong's education system at the time of the report, 1981. Section III 1.5 of the document concerns 'Languages in the Classroom' and discusses the issues faced by Hong Kong schools with regards to medium of instruction. The below extract specifically discusses the workload faced by Hong Kong students with regards to their acquisition of written language:

> ...as Hong Kong pupils have to learn a language which can be written in order to express themselves on paper, why not teach them to write in English, the accepted universal business language, rather than in Chinese? The answer lies, we were told, in the relatedness of Cantonese and putonghua[9]...All forms of Chinese use the same script, with differences of style, grammar and lexis. Cantonese, for example, has a number of characters which are unique to it and there are number of words in Cantonese which do not have corresponding characters. The problem is that what is accepted as 'proper' written Chinese follows the rules of standard Chinese or putonghua...Nevertheless, a Cantonese speaker who cannot understand putonghua will be literate, given education. putonghua or 'standard language' (sometimes called Mandarin) is not just a dialect - it is Chinese. Whether Cantonese is a dialect or a language in its own right is a matter of linguistic (and political) debate. (1982: 25)

The fact that it is Modern Standard Chinese that is accorded the highest status in terms of written Chinese in Hong Kong is not particularly surprising, given that it is based on the spoken language with the greatest number of speakers - the Mandarin of the Northeastern speakers in Mainland China - and is furthermore, almost the same in terms of pragmatics and lexis, as Putonghua.

The Llewellyn Report's finding that "what is accepted as 'proper' written Chinese follows the rules of standard Chinese or putonghua" is perhaps the most telling indicator of the status of Putonghua in the colonial era. Putonghua was not commonly used as a spoken language in Hong Kong at this time, and was afforded little attention by the colonial administration and the Hong Kong education system. However, Modern Standard Chinese's position as the official and accepted written variant of Chinese automatically affords Putonghua status, even if it is not used as the spoken language. In diglossic societies such as Hong Kong, very often, H-languages are written languages associated with power, that are not generally used in daily conversation by the general population (Ferguson, 1959). It is arguable that because Modern Standard Chinese mirrors Putonghua in terms of pragmatics, grammar and for the most part, lexis, its status is automatically risen above that of Cantonese.

Cantonese lacks a generally accepted written standard thus limiting its prestige in official domains, particularly in written domains. This obviously does much for the status of Putonghua and as a result, for the status of Cantonese in Hong Kong's education system.

The Llewellyn Report's findings on medium of instruction issues goes on to discuss how the English language "became synonymous with power and prestige" (1982: 26) as a result of early colonial governmental services being directed towards wealthy bilingual Chinese families who

[9]Putonghua is underlined without capitalization in the original document, likely to signal a non-English word.

were "both products of, and essential to, the orderly governance and economic prosperity of the territory" (ibid.). The status of English and of Cantonese have changed little in an official capacity since the transfer of sovereignty in 1997. The status of Putonghua, on the other hand, has arguably increased. As a territory of the People's Republic of China, it is perhaps natural that the official language of the country has grown in prestige, at least in the official domain, and the government now officially promotes and popularizes the acquisition of Putonghua in Hong Kong. Hong Kong is in an interesting and indeed somewhat unique position in that there is a certain level of discord between the PRC's language policy and Hong Kong's:

1. The PRC has one official language for the entire territory, Hong Kong declares two[10]
2. The PRC defines the particular variant of Chinese that is the official language, Hong Kong does not
3. The PRC has unity between the *de jure* official standard of written and spoken Chinese, Hong Kong does not.

Whilst these differences are protected by virtue of the 'one country, two systems' policy until 2047, Hong Kong is irrespectively subject to the PRC. Ultimately, as Hong Kong has failed to explicitly define in its language policy the relative positions of Cantonese and Putonghua, Cantonese is in an inherently weaker position in terms of its official status.

The report further discusses the prestige ascribed to the English language in terms of the effect this has on Cantonese as follows:

> The aspirations of upwardly mobile Chinese families (rather than the desire by the powerful of the political economy to dominate the scene) keep at bay any formal acceptance of Cantonese as a major medium of instruction, because of the preference for English. (1982: 27)

This point is important to highlight in that, just as English infringed on the position of Cantonese in colonial Hong Kong, so too might Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong. The popular non-acceptance of Cantonese as a medium of instruction in colonial Hong Kong was eventually bypassed by the postcolonial government when they instituted reforms that made Chinese-medium instruction the MOI for a majority of Hong Kong students. The feeling that Cantonese is *just* a spoken language remains strong in Hong Kong however, particularly as the language has no accepted written standard. Putting aside the socioeconomic worth of both English and Putonghua, these languages are legitimized by their written standards. As Cantonese does not have a formal written standard, there will perpetually be the risk that Cantonese diminishes in status to make way for languages that do have a written standard. This, perhaps above anything else, puts Cantonese at risk of infringement from Putonghua.

In offering advice as to how the MOI situation could be improved in Hong Kong in the early 1980s, Llewellyn et al. make various suggestions that would serve to ease the linguistic burden on both teaching staff and students in Hong Kong, with distinct emphasis placed on improving the

[10] Article 8 of the PRC's *Law of the People's Republic of China on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language (Order of the President No.37)* does however note that "All the nationalities shall have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written language." Putonghua however, in accordance with the same law, is the official language of the country.

linguistically loaded and burdensome curriculum, especially in Anglo-Chinese (English-medium) schools. Of particular relevance is a suggestion in Section III 1.18:

> We suggest that putonghua be offered as a publicly financed but extra-curricula (Saturday or after normal school hours), and therefore optional, supplement for those who wish to enroll from p3/4 onwards.[11] (1982: 29)

Llewellyn et al. therefore recognized the emerging importance of Putonghua in 1982, both as a language of international significance and as the language of Hong Kong's closest neighbour and future government[12], the People's Republic of China. From the 1960s until the early 1980s, Putonghua had not been taught at all within the Hong Kong curriculum, so this suggestion is progressive in terms of reintroducing the subject into the Hong Kong curriculum. It is however a relatively 'light' suggestion in that it does not suggest Putonghua be added to the *core* curriculum and rather that Putonghua be offered as an optional subject, perhaps even outside of regular school hours. This is further asserted as follows:

> ...putonghua continuing to be an option which can be built into the secondary school timetable as well as being offered on an extra-curricula basis at public expense. (1982: 29)

The position of Putonghua offered in Llewellyn et al.'s *A Perspective on Education in Hong Kong* can be described as one of acknowledgement. Putonghua's emergent importance is certainly acknowledged, however the attention given to Cantonese, the region's L1, far outweighs any attention given to Putonghua. English is looked upon from a functionalist perspective but it is Cantonese that is truly regarded as the language of Hong Kong within the report. Llewellyn et al.'s stance towards MOI issues in Hong Kong can be summarized as suggesting a "shift towards mother tongue education in the early compulsory years" (1982: 29) and the relegation of English to that of a more functional (which acknowledges English's actual usage in Hong Kong) though nevertheless important role, and Putonghua as an optional school subject.

4.2 Education Commission Report (ECR) No.1 - 1984

Based on the findings of the Llewellyn Report it was decided that an Education Commission should be established in Hong Kong to advise the colonial government on matters relating to education and in particular, language-in-education issues in Hong Kong. The first of these reports was published in October 1984 and mirrors many of the recommendations that the Llewellyn Report made two years prior.

Chapter III of the report deals specifically with language-in-education issues and it is this chapter that is primarily investigated here.

The increasing importance of Putonghua, both as a global language and as the language of Hong Kong's future government is acknowledged throughout the document and Putonghua is allocated its own section, like English and Chinese. ECR No.1 recommends, like the Llewellyn Report, that Putonghua should be offered as an optional subject within the secondary school curriculum:

[11] Age 7 - 8.

[12] Negotiations over the future of Hong Kong between the UK and the PRC commenced in 1982.

> The Panel suggested that putonghua should continue to be an option for inclusion into the secondary school time-table or as an extra curricular activity at public expense. We note that the Education Department launched a pilot scheme on the teaching of putonghua in 20 primary schools in September 1981 and that this has been extended to F1[13] in 20 secondary schools in September 1984...The Department has been very encouraged by the success of the pilot scheme so far. The pupils have shown a keen interest and the teaching materials specifically developed for Hong Kong schools have been found to be appropriate. However, there is a real problem in finding more qualified teachers to teach the subject. (ECR No.1, 1984: 46)

It is noted here that in 1984 Putonghua was offered as an optional subject in some schools within the region, however, recruiting teachers qualified to teach Putonghua was problematic. The Hong Kong Government at present continue to make efforts to recruit teaching staff both from the mainland, and by offering training programs for teachers native to Hong Kong in the mainland.

As ECR No.1 was published just three months prior to the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, which confirmed the transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong from the UK to the PRC in 1997, the report acknowledges that it is likely that Putonghua will come to play a role of greater importance in Hong Kong and suggests that, Hong Kong should rightly so encourage the use of Putonghua within the education system:

> With Hong Kong entering a new era, there will be a wider use of putonghua. We RECOMMEND that more schools should be encouraged to teach putonghua either during school hours or as an extra-curricular activity. (ECR No.1, 1984: 47)

Though ECR No.1 is encouraging the proliferation of Putonghua and the increased teaching of it within Hong Kong's curriculum, the colonial Education Commission tended to make recommendations as opposed to solid policy objectives. This may explain why, despite repeated recommendations for both Chinese medium instruction and the teaching of Putonghua on a more widespread basis, Hong Kong has taken some time to reach a stage where most pupils are educated in their L1 and as of 2016, Putonghua is generally allocated a small amount of time within the curriculum - this is discussed in section 5 of this paper.

In the annexes of the ECR No.1, there is further mention of Putonghua with regards to the effect that acquisition of the language might have on a student's written Chinese ability. As has already been stressed, Modern Standard Chinese is essentially the written form of Putonghua and therefore the link between Putonghua acquisition and the improvement of students' written Chinese is one that has been used frequently by the postcolonial administration to laud the benefits of Putonghua instruction. As of 1984 however, ECR No.1 notes merely that there might be some benefit for students' written Chinese should they have access to Putonghua tuition.

4.3 Education Commission Report (ECR) No.2 - 1986

The second ECR builds on the recommendations laid out in the first report and continues to *encourage* the adoption of Chinese as the medium of instruction for a majority of students in

[13] Form 1, the first year of junior-secondary school in Hong Kong.

Hong Kong without laying out concrete plans for compelling schools to make a switch from English medium instruction to Chinese medium instruction. ECR No.2 notes that:

> ...Putonghua will be formally introduced as an independent and optional subject in the primary curriculum in September 1986. The Putonghua Pilot Scheme for secondary schools will be completed in 1987. Guidelines on the promotion of Putonghua through extracurricular activities have now been issued to schools. In-service training programmes on Putonghua have been launched. Putonghua will be offered as a part of pre-service training to suitable students by the colleges of education in September 1986. (ECR No.2, 1986: 20)

As early as 1986 therefore we can see that the promotion of Putonghua was already underway, with schools being encouraged to popularize Putonghua through extracurricular activities and its introduction as an optional subject for primary schools in the region. ECR No.2 makes no further reference to Putonghua and ECR No.3 makes no reference at all to Putonghua.

4.4 Education Commission Report (ECR) No.4 - 1990

ECR No.4 discusses the suggestions made in ECRs No.1 and No.2 with regards to the increased use of Chinese as the MOI for students in Hong Kong and the increased use of Putonghua within the curriculum for both primary and secondary students. This report also comments on how the government have implemented the suggestions put forth by the Education Commission in their previous reports:

> ...as regards encouraging a wider use of Chinese in the classroom: since September 1989, all Government and aided secondary schools with 18 classes or more have been provided with an additional graduate teacher of Chinese. Of the 361 Government aided[14] and caput secondary schools[15], 126 have adopted Chinese either fully or partly as their medium of instruction. 38 schools will soon follow suit. A further 120 schools are considering the issue. Since September 1986, teacher training courses have been modified to train teachers for a wider use of Chinese...Putonghua has been offered as an optional subject in primary schools and in junior secondary classes since September 1988. Starting in 1989-90, a recurrent grant has been provided to secondary schools for the employment of part-time instructors to run special programmes in Putonghua after school... (ECR No.4, 1990: 89)

Whilst there is some evidence here that the government were making moves to actually encourage schools to make a switch from English medium instruction to Chinese medium instruction, as opposed to simply suggesting that this might be a good idea, there is still an overwhelming sense here that the government were not really enforcing anything and instead,

[14]Government aided schools are schools ran by a charitable or religious organization that receive funding from the government.

[15]Caput schools are non-profit-making private secondary schools in receipt of government subsidy since 1971 when the Government introduced a Bought Place Scheme to provide enough secondary school places. These schools are not allowed to charge fees in excess of those in the government/aided schools. In return, the Government provides them subsidy by making up the difference between the approved expenditure for the school places bought and the standard school fees that they have collected from students.

allowing schools to decide for themselves what might be best for their students in terms of medium of instruction, despite the strong criticisms voiced in the Llewellyn Report eight years earlier.

Putonghua, as of 1990, was offered as an optional subject in primary and secondary schools and the promotion of Putonghua via extracurricular activities in addition to regular school hours continued with government funding as recommended in the previous ECRs. There is also some evidence of efforts made to establish a framework for Putonghua education in Hong Kong, in terms of teacher training requirements and assessment benchmarks:

> To establish minimum requirements for teachers of Putonghua and to create target-related assessments to assess attainment in these; to develop learning packages in Putonghua for teachers who wish to upgrade their language skills... (ECR No.4, 1990: 189)

Referring back to the beginning of this section, Education Commission Report No.4 comes right at the end of the 'experimental phase' of Putonghua education in Hong Kong. Following this report, Putonghua began to be actively popularized in the region, as opposed to quietly suggested.

4.5 Education Commission Report (ECR) No.5 - 1992

Education Commission Report No.5 was published at the formative stage for the popularization of Putonghua in Hong Kong. In contrast to the ECRs that precede it, ECR No.5 makes, whilst sparse, definitive moves to proliferate Putonghua in Hong Kong and increase its use within the education system.

With relation to teacher training and required teaching qualifications for teachers in Hong Kong, ECR No.5 notes that, under the heading 'Ability to Communicate':

> Many candidates for assessment are likely to claim education in either the PRC or Taiwan, but applicants from elsewhere who have an unrestricted right to work in Hong Kong should not be excluded. Hence it is important to ensure that an applicant can communicate effectively in either Chinese or English. **The ability to speak Putonghua but not Cantonese would not prevent an applicant from passing the assessment.** It would be for a school to decide whether or not to offer employment, bearing in mind the ability of its students to cope with Putonghua medium teaching. (ECR No.5, 1992:86, emphasis added)

The above extract refers to applicants wishing to enter the teaching profession in Hong Kong without recognized graduate qualifications from Hong Kong. It is noted that, in the early 1990s, applicants could be speakers of *either* English or Chinese and that the 'kind' of Chinese that the applicant was conversant in should not hinder the applicant from applying. It is implied therefore that if a school wished to, based on their own assessment of the ability of their students, they could decide to offer 'Putonghua-medium teaching' and thus employ Putonghua-speaking teachers.

4.6 Education Commission Report (ECR) No.6 - 1996

Education Commission Report No.6 notes:

> The draft Report made a number of recommendations aimed at promoting Putonghua. There was **strong support for these recommendations**...concerns were expressed that...**schools may not be ready for intensive promotion of Putonghua**. The Commission therefore recommends that, in the long run, **all Chinese subject teachers should be trained to teach Putonghua**. In the meantime, SCOLAR[16] should study the relationship between Putonghua and the Chinese Language subject in the school curriculum...In addition, responding to public suggestion...schools should be encouraged to employ native Putonghua speakers who are qualified teachers in Putonghua to teach the subject... (ECR No.6, 1996: 5, emphasis added)

With regards to the highlighted portions of the extract above, it is not entirely clear from the report where the 'strong support' for the promotion of Putonghua came from - if this was strong public support, or strong institutional support. As these ECRs are generally aimed at advising the government on educational issues in Hong Kong, it can be supposed that this support was from the government. However, as will be evidenced in the analysis of future documents published by the postcolonial administration and associated advisory bodies, there is often the suggestion of 'support' for policies relating to the popularization of Putonghua without reference to whom is doing the supporting. With regards to the issue that "schools may not be ready for intensive promotion of Putonghua" we can surmise that "intensive promotion of Putonghua" was therefore on the agenda. Finally, as ECR No.6 recommends that all Chinese subject teachers (presumably, Chinese language, literature, history and culture) should be trained to teach Putonghua, we can suppose that there was the intention that these subjects could at some point be taught through the medium of Putonghua. We can now see that this is indeed the case in the contemporary context, the government now promotes the teaching of the Chinese Language Subject through Putonghua.

ECR No.6 is the first time that the Standing Committee on Language Education and Research (SCOLAR) is mentioned with regards to their promotion of Putonghua in the region. SCOLAR was established to advise the government on the "language needs" (ECR No.6, 1996: 2) of the government based on the recommendations of ECR No.6. As is noted in the above extract, one of SCOLAR's primary research objectives is to explore the possibility of using Putonghua to teach some or all of the Chinese Language Subject within the Hong Kong curriculum. Research into this was began in 1996 by recommendation of ECR No.6 and is still on going as of 2017.

Under the 'Financial Implications' listed by ECR No.6 for the expected cost of various language initiatives to be carried out from 1996, a combined $57 million HKD[17] was allocated in order to "Strengthen the teaching and learning of Putonghua" and offer summer classes in Putonghua (ECR No.6, 1996: 8). This represents approximately 42% of the total budget spent on language related projects in 1996 (ibid.).

[16] Standing Committee on Language Education & Research, established in 1996 to advise the Hong Kong Legislative Council primarily on language-in-education issues.

[17] Hong Kong Dollars ($)

There is a fundamental misunderstanding of the relationship between Putonghua and 'Chinese' in Hong Kong - this is quite aptly demonstrated in one of the goals of the research to be carried out in ECR No.6, which states a desire to "investigate the relationship between Chinese and Putonghua" (ECR No.6 1996:13). The relationship between 'Chinese' and Putonghua is that Putonghua is a variant of Chinese, and the written standard generally used in Hong Kong is based on spoken Putonghua - what other facet of this relationship might have been under investigation is unclear, however research undertaken subsequent to ECR No.6 indicate that this 'relationship' is the ways in which teaching the Chinese Language Subject through the medium of Putonghua might (a) be possible and (b) benefit students.

References to Putonghua in ECRs 1-6 are relatively few in general, however in reports published in the years 1984 and 1996 there are far more references to Putonghua than other years - ECR No.6 published in 1996 alone accounts for the same number of references made to Putonghua in each report published every other year. The spike in references to Putonghua in the years 1984 and 1996 are not coincidental - 1984 is the year in which the Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed and 1996 is just one year prior to the transfer of sovereignty. It is perhaps natural that these years would contain more references to Putonghua - the national language of the PRC. This demonstrates that the proliferation of Putonghua, although often advertised as simply beneficial to students, has at least some political motivation behind its popularization.

Analysis of the Llywellyn Report and Education Commission Reports 1-6 demonstrate the evolution of Putonghua as a subject within the Hong Kong curriculum in the late colonial period, beginning as a non-core subject in the 1980s right up to its introduction as a core subject within the Hong Kong curriculum. These reports also demonstrate the ideological position of Putonghua within the curriculum.

The present Hong Kong education system primarily uses Cantonese for the majority of instruction in government sponsored primary and secondary schools. Evans and Morrison (2017) note, however, that particularly at the secondary level, the medium of instruction that schools use is far from settled and is somewhat of a gray area with some schools continuing to use English as the primary medium of instruction for most subjects and other schools using English and Cantonese on an ad-hoc basis. The persistence of English as the most desired medium of instruction for parents and students is due primarily to the perceived socioeconomic value of English in Hong Kong and globally (Warriner, 2016). The use of Putonghua as the medium of instruction for the entire curriculum is still relatively uncommon in Hong Kong schools, due in part to a lack of a qualified, Putonghua-proficient teaching staff (Li, 2017: 191). The below section discusses the Putonghua subject as a discrete subject within the present Hong Kong curriculum.

5 Putonghua in Hong Kong's Present Primary and Junior-Secondary Curriculum

5.1 The Present Putonghua Subject

This section provides a brief overview of Putonghua within the current Chinese Language Education area of the Hong Kong curriculum. The purpose of this section is to detail the structure of the Putonghua subject before moving on to a detailed look at how Putonghua is treated as a subject within the contemporary Hong Kong curriculum. The contents of the Putonghua course were investigated primarily through exploration of the *Chinese Language Education and Learning Area, Putonghua Course Guidelines, Primary 1 - Secondary 3) (*中國語文教育學習領域, 普通話科課程指引（小一至中三）*).* This is a draft document published by the Course Development Council for consultation in May 2017 and is therefore the most up-to-date document available for investigation into this area.

The Putonghua subject is broken down into four key components:

1. Listening
2. Speaking
3. Reading
4. Transliteration[18]

The Listening component provides students with the opportunity to listen to authentic Putonghua being spoken in variety of different situations and promotes the acquisition of Putonghua for 'everyday usage' (Course Development Council, 2017: 5). The speaking component focuses on 'clear articulation', the correct usage of tones in Putonghua and the correct usage of Modern Standard Chinese grammar when speaking Putonghua (ibid.).

The Reading Component of the Putonghua Subject is interesting in that one familiar with the use of written language in Hong Kong would be aware that Hong Kong students learn to read and write Modern Standard Chinese as their primary means of written communication and that this is the variety of written Chinese that is used in the majority of publications in Hong Kong. Modern Standard Chinese has a grammar and lexicon primarily based on the Beijing variety of Mandarin, which in turn is the primary basis for spoken Putonghua. One might wonder therefore what the Reading Component of the Putonghua Subject might contain, given that Modern Standard Chinese reading and writing is covered in the Chinese Language Subject. The Reading Component actually focuses primarily on 'reading aloud', 'vocabulary building' and 'sentence structure' (Course Development Council, 2017: 6). Topics similar to what is covered in the Speaking Component, pronunciation, clear articulation and the use of tones, are also covered in this component.

The Transliteration Component of the course deals with the acquisition of Hanyu Pinyin (漢語拼音) - the government approved method of transliterating Putonghua into Roman characters

[18]This component is called " 拼寫" (*Pīnxiě, ping3se2)* in the original document, which could be translated as 'Spelling". As this component of the Putonghua subject focuses mostly on learning Hanyu Pinyin transliteration, it has been translated as 'transliteration' here for clarity.

to aid with the acquisition of Putonghua, for both L1 and L2 Chinese speakers.[19]

Cultural items are also embedded within the Putonghua Subject, one of the 'Focus on Learning' sections of the Reading Component, for instance, is 'Enhancing Chinese Chinese Cultural Awareness' (Course Development Council, 2017: 7).

5.2 Putonghua in Hong Kong's Present Primary & Junior-Secondary Curriculum

Primary School in Hong Kong begins in Primary 1 (age 6) and concludes a the end of Primary 6 (age 11). The Curriculum Development Council describe the aims of Hong Kong's primary curriculum as follows:

> The school curriculum should provide all students with essential life-long learning experiences for whole-person development in the domains of ethics, intellect, physical development, social skills and aesthetics, according to their individual potential, so that all students can become active, responsible and contributing members of society, the nation and the world. (Curriculum Development Council, 2001)

The *Basic Education Curriculum Guide - To Sustain, Deepen and Focusing on Learning to Learn (Primary 1-6)*, published in 2014, details how the primary curriculum in Hong Kong should be implemented and what is expected of teachers, schools and pupils within this curriculum. The current paper focuses on how Putonghua is treated within the Hong Kong curriculum and so it is with this in mind that an analysis is undertaken of the above document.

Section 1.4 of the document posits that over the last ten years (from 2004-2014), Hong Kong has undergone a series of societal changes and that the curriculum needs to keep up with these changes. It is noted that there is (or there should be, this is unclear) an "Increasingly common use of Putonghua for daily communication" in Hong Kong (Curriculum Development Council, 2014). There is no evidence provided to validate this claim, however if we examine sociolinguistic surveying work undertaken in Hong Kong, we can quite clearly see that this claim may be somewhat of an overstatement. Bacon-Shone et al. reported in 2015 that a relatively low percentage of those surveyed use Putonghua in a variety of different domains of language use, with only 6.6% of respondents reporting that they used Putonghua with family members (compared to 97.4% for Cantonese and 10.9% for English). Bacon-Shone et al.'s findings are summarized below for reference:

Table 4: Use of Spoken Language by Percentage, adapted from Bacon-Shone et al., 2015: 16

	Family Members	Domestic Helpers	Friends	Work Colleagues	Work Clients
Cantonese	97.4%	52.9%	98.2%	97.3%	94.3%
Putonghua	6.6%	3.4%	14.4%	15.0%	37.8%
English	10.9%	61.8%	21.9%	33.2%	48.1%

What exactly is meant by "daily communication" in Section 1.4 of this document is somewhat unclear, so if we consider that it might also refer to use within the workplace, we can see from

[19]Interestingly, it is also mentioned that students can learn zhùyīn fúhào (注音符號) to transcribe Chinese characters, the method of transcription commonly used in Taiwan but not Mainland China.

the above that there is at least some claim to be made that it is used for some communication with work clients, though still less than both Cantonese and English.

If we are to focus on the notion that the use of Putonghua has *increased* in Hong Kong, compared to at some point in the past (again, the document doesn't actually provide any figures so it's difficult to say what current usage is being compared with), then using earlier sociolinguistic surveying work can illustrate just how much usage of Putonghua has increased over the last several decades.

If we first consider the 1991 Hong Kong Census, it is noted that 18.1% of the population can speak Putonghua, 1.1% of the population speaking it as their usual language and the remaining 17% speaking it as another language variety (Census and Statistics Department, 1991: 45). If we then consider the 2015 Thematic Household Survey, it is noted that 3.9% of the population used Putonghua as their usual or daily language in 2014 (Census and Statistics Department, 2015: 9) and 65.8% of those surveyed have average or better knowledge of Putonghua (2015: 10). Table 3 summarizes this as follows:

Table 5: Putonghua as Usual Language or Knowledge of in 1991 & 2014

	Usual Language	Knowledge of	Total
1991	1.1%	17%	18.1%
2014	3.9%	65.8%	69.7%

The above table shows that there has been a modest increase (though the figure has more than tripled) in the number of those speaking Putonghua as their usual language, likely due to an increase in immigration from Mandarin speaking areas, and a much larger (48.8%) increase in those with knowledge of Putonghua.[20] This increase can quite easily be explained as a result of the reincorporation of Putonghua as core subject within the Hong Kong curriculum in the early 1990s. Therefore whilst we can say that that Section 1.4 of the *Basic Education Curriculum Guide - To Sustain, Deepen and Focusing on Learning to Learn (Primary 1-6)* is correct in its assertion that, perhaps not 'use' but rather 'knowledge' of Putonghua has increased in the last several decades, it is likely as a direct result of education that this increase has occurred. Survey data does not indicate a particularly high level of usage of Putonghua in any domain of language use, as per Bacon-Shone et al.'s figures presented in Table 4 on Page 126.

Section 1.7 of the document introduces the *Seven Learning Goals* of the Hong Kong primary curriculum, the 4th of these being to "Actively communicate with others in English and Chinese (including Putonghua)" (Education Bureau, 2004). Though it is quite common in the Hong Kong context to find Putonghua grouped together with 'Chinese', usually in brackets after the word 'Chinese' as above, this seemingly innocuous grouping implies that learning to communicate in 'Chinese' (which would generally be spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese in Hong Kong, (Cheng and Tang, 2016: 19) and learning to communicate in Putonghua are two sides of the same coin. Rather, it is quite obvious that learning to communicate in the L1 (Cantonese) and L2 (Putonghua) would be quite different endeavors. It is notable however that these documents do at least seem to (perhaps unwittingly) acknowledge that 'Chinese' would

[20] It should be noted that these figures aren't directly comparable due to the differences in sample sizes between the two years and the potential for differences in responses due to different elicitation methods in the two surveys. Nevertheless, these two surveys do illustrate quite clearly an increase in those with ability in Putonghua.

generally not suggest Putonghua to the average reader in the Hong Kong context, evidenced by the need to include reference to it in brackets after the word 'Chinese.'

Section 2.4.5 of the document details how much time should be allocated to each language within the curriculum over the six years of primary education. In total 2025 hours are allocated to language education over the six years of primary school, over two language areas - 'Chinese Language Education' and 'English Language Education'. 1080 hours are allocated to 'Chinese Language Education' and 945 hours to 'English Language Education.' 'English Language Education' quite obviously focuses on the English language; however, within the 'Chinese Language Education' subject area there are two distinct subjects, 'Chinese Language' and 'Putonghua'. Of the 1080 hours allocated to 'Chinese Language Education', just 133.2 hours are allocated to Putonghua, with 22.5 hours per year of Putonghua classes delivered to students.

Putonghua is therefore allocated a very small amount of time within the Hong Kong primary curriculum compared to both English and 'Chinese Language'. The *Guidance on Curriculum Development in Chinese Language Education (Primary 1 to Secondary 3) Appendix 2: Curriculum Suggestions for Chinese Language and Putonghua in Primary Schools (*中國語文教育學習領域課程指引 *(*小一至中三*)* 附錄二：小學中國語文科及普通話科課程調適建議*)* suggests that as a core subject, Putonghua should be allocated 2 - 3 lessons per week and notes that depending on the 'local conditions' schools can be somewhat flexible with this allocation. The document also notes that Hong Kong is *still* overwhelmingly a 'Cantonese dialect' area[21] and that efforts must be made within schools to allow for the development of pupils' Putonghua proficiency, particularly given the lack of time allocated to Putonghua within the curriculum. The document further notes that students should be encouraged to study Putonghua both at school and outside of school and that efforts should be made to create more Putonghua related extra-curricular activities in order to create a 'Putonghua environment'[22] within schools. It is also noted that the Putonghua curriculum should focus more on communicative efficacy as opposed to solely on the rote learning of Putonghua phonetics.

We can summarize that whilst Putonghua is officially a core subject within the Hong Kong primary and junior-secondary curricula, it is a core subject *only* as a 'sub-subject' of the Chinese Language Education key area. Furthermore, whilst guidance documents regularly make reference to how important Putonghua is for Hong Kong society and how imperative it is that students should receive instruction in Putonghua, it is quite clear from the amount of time allocated within the curriculum to the subject that Putonghua is very much a third concern, behind 'Chinese' and English, when it comes to language learning at the primary and junior-secondary school levels.

This section has looked at how Putonghua is treated in Hong Kong's present primary and junior-secondary curriculum. Putonghua is not a core subject at the post-F3 levels of secondary schooling (Education Bureau, 2016) and so there is little in the way of guidance as to how Putonghua should be treated at this level of education. Needless to say, the fact that 'Chinese' (Cantonese) and English remain subjects at the senior secondary level, whilst Putonghua does not, demonstrates that Putonghua does not yet possess the status that these two languages have

[21]The original Chinese, in full, reads: 但個別學校可能因為暫時的困難，只能為普通話科安排 1 教節；基於現時香港社會仍是以粵方言為主，這些學校必須為學生在校內提供足夠的普通話接觸機會，例如多安排課外學習活動以補課時的不足。

[22]In Chinese, 普通話的語言環境。

within Hong Kong's curriculum, despite plentiful discourse that espouses the benefit of learning Putonghua for Hong Kong students.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary

This paper was inspired by a meeting of the Hong Kong Legislative Council in April 2015 wherein it was suggested that a link could be made between the 'Han ethnicity' and the acquisition of Putonghua. Official documents from the late-colonial and contemporary periods were analysed with regards to how Putonghua is treated within Hong Kong's primary and junior-secondary curricula in order to ascertain if the position of Putonghua within these curricula has shifted since the transfer of sovereignty in 1997 and if there is a discernible societal need for the greater provision of Putonghua within Hong Kong's language curriculum. It was found that in this case, a link between ethnicity and the acquisition of a second or further language is spurious, particularly considering that those that define themselves as members of the 'Han ethnicity' do not and have likely not ever uniformly shared a common language, despite attempts by both the governments of the PRC and the ROC. This idea is particularly difficult to justify in Hong Kong, a region wherein the common language of the majority of the population is not nor has ever been Putonghua but is rather Cantonese. It was found that ultimately, despite official discourse that lauds the benefits of the acquisition of Putonghua for Hong Kong's students, there is little space within the Hong Kong curriculum for additional time to be spent on language subjects and there is thus a disconnect between a nationalistic ideology that attempts to move Hong Kong culturally closer to the PRC and a curriculum already overcrowded by language subjects.

6.2 Concluding Thoughts

Based on the analysis of the documents outlined in the previous sections, it is clear that there is importance placed on the promotion and acquisition of Putonghua in Hong Kong as a language worth acquiring for students. Despite repeated mentions of the usefulness of Putonghua, however, it is still allocated a very small amount of time within the Hong Kong curriculum and it seems that the Hong Kong Legislative Council's desire for Putonghua to be used as a means of transmitting a 'pan-Chinese' cultural identity do not align with the amount of available time to be spent on Putonghua within the curriculum.

Going back to the quotation at the beginning of this paper, though the Hong Kong Legislative council are keen to promote the acquisition of the "common language of the Han nationality" it seems that there is a disconnect between carrying out this aim and finding a substantial place for Putonghua within the Hong Kong curriculum. The only viable way in which to solve this disconnect would be to decrease the amount of time spent within the curriculum on one of Hong Kong's two other languages, either Cantonese or English. Due to the sociolinguistic status of English it is unlikely that the time spent on English will be diminished at any point in the near future, it is therefore more likely that it is Cantonese that would suffer within the curriculum. The very purpose of the Legislative Council meeting discussed in this paper was to laud the benefits of teaching the Chinese Language Subject *in* Putonghua - if this were to

become the case, then *both* subjects within the Chinese Language Education area would be taught in Putonghua - the Putonghua subject itself *and* the Chinese Language subject. Such a situation would mean that Hong Kong students would not receive any instruction about their L1 *in* their L1 - in other words, Hong Kong students would learn about 'Chinese' in Putonghua, thus encouraging the subversive idea that Chinese is equal to Putonghua.

The link between the 'Han nationality' and Putonghua as the common language of this ethnicity is spurious - there has never been a time at which those that identify as 'Han Chinese' all share a common language. In an attempt to encourage the adoption of Putonghua as a language of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Legislative Council have resorted to a relatively cynical attempt at exhorting Hong Kong students to identify more strongly as 'Han Chinese' and thus to consider themselves as the same ethnicity as the majority of their PRC counterparts.

6.3 Future Research Directions

The medium of instruction in Hong Kong is an issue that is far from settled and is in an almost constant state of flux. It is likely that in the coming years Hong Kong will enter yet another phase of debate over the appropriate medium of instruction for Hong Kong students. It will be interesting to note in this hypothetical new phase of debate what the position of Putonghua is - will Putonghua make gains within the curriculum and be allocated more time as a discrete subject within the curriculum? Will more schools opt to use Putonghua as the medium of instruction for the Chinese Language Subject? One of the primary ways that we can anticipate growing trends with regards to the position of Putonghua within Hong Kong's curriculum and indeed within society at large is through the analysis of policy documents. It will be interesting to observe the ways in which the Hong Kong Legislative Council use official discourse to promote the acquisition of Putonghua in Hong Kong in the coming years and to keep track of the ways in which they do so, be it through claims of pedagogical gain for students or as in the present case, through the promotion of Putonghua as the language of a 'pan-Chinese' identity.

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Discourse is cultural: New approaches to discourse analysis in the 'Non-West'*

Abstract

A review article on two recent books arguing that Western techniques of discourse analysis are unsuited to the discourses of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The review article asks whether Shi-Xu, sole author of the earlier book and one of a trio of authors of the later one, has tacitly changed his view or has contradicted himself concerning whether his proposed Chinese Discourse Analysis is culture specific or applicable to anywhere in the 'non-West'. The review article strives to balance recognition of the books' positive contributions with honest acknowledgement of logical weaknesses.

1 Introduction

In *Chinese Discourse Studies* (2014), Shi-xu offers an insight into the specific requirements for carrying out critical discourse work in a Chinese, and more generally, non-Western context. He argues that current methodologies are inadequate for the analysis of Chinese discourse and that a specific and novel approach is required in order to unravel the cultural complexities and peculiarities of Chinese discourse. Shi-xu delves into the universalist issues that seemingly plague CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) as a school of thought. Nevertheless, reading Shi-xu's book, it seems as though his proposed alternative approach, CNDS (Chinese Discourse Studies), may fall victim to some of the very problems that it aims to address. Shi-xu has also collaborated with Kwesi Kwaa and María Laura Pardo on *Discourses of the Developing World* (2016), which considers how discourse work should be carried out in the context of Asia, Africa and Latin America and shows how Westerncentric research, based on its rootedness in American and Western discourse practices, can be inappropriate and ineffective for application to the discourses of the so-called 'developing world'. *Chinese Discourse Studies* (2014) is divided into two parts, the first dealing with Shi-xu's paradigmatic construction, and the second the application of this construction to three distinct areas of discourse in a Chinese setting. *Discourses of the Developing World* (2016) is divided into three parts, the first dealing with 'Asian discourse studies', the second 'African discourse studies', and the third 'Latin American discourse studies'.

2 'De-westernizing discourse analysis'

Shi-xu's discussion of the current state of discourse analysis practices begins with the observation that CDA and most other approaches to discourse analysis are Western-focused, and biased

*A review article published in *Language & Communication, Volume 50, 2016: 42-44* on Chinese Discourse Studies, by Shi-xu (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and Discourses of the Developing World: Researching Properties, Problems and Potentials of the Developing World, by Shi-xu, Kwesi Kwaa Prah & María Laura Pardo, London & New York: Routledge, 2016

towards a Western understanding of the world and of human interaction (Shi-xu, 2014: 3). Shi-xu argues that practitioners of CDA are neither culturally nor ethnically neutral and instead are maintaining 'Westerncentric' ideologies.

Reading the introduction to Shi-xu's book, referring to the issues inherent in Western discourse practices, I cannot help but feel in a difficult and even alienated position. Shi-xu forces Western scholars to question their own position within discourse analysis work in a non-Western setting, and that is a good thing. There is however a lurking sense that anyone who may not agree with Shi-xu's line of reasoning has no way out, but is doomed to fall into that old trap of cultural imperialism and elitism. This does not make for an attractive opening to a new and potentially exciting paradigm for discourse studies. Yes, we should question the status quo, but should we feel limited by our cultural background and indeed our ethnicity, in undertaking discourse studies in a culture not native to us?

Similarly, Discourses of the Developing World devotes many pages to what is wrong with Western-centric discourse studies, pages that might instead have explored what is right about the culturally specific paradigms offered by Shi-xu et al. Nonetheless, the opening of each of these books serves as a clear positioning of the authors' ideological stance with regard to discourse studies.

Shi-xu's (2014) introductory chapter 'De-Westernizing Discourse Analysis' raises a fundamental question about his paradigm that requires a clear answer: If Western discourse methodologies are inapplicable to non-Western settings, what makes Shi-xu's CNDS (Chinese Discourse Studies) applicable to non-Chinese settings? It is Shi-xu's stated intention that CNDS can be applied to other discourses, particularly of Africa and Latin America. Shi-xu burdens himself with the task early on in his book of justifying this new paradigm as a remedy for the malaise of Western discourse analytic practice –a heavy burden for any author.

Interestingly, on the other hand, Discourses of the Developing World does not suggest that Shi-xu's (2014) approach should be a 'one size fits all' framework for discourse studies of the non-Western world and instead suggests that culturally specific paradigms should be applied to Chinese, African and Latin American contexts. It may therefore be the case that Shi-xu's position has changed somewhat between the publication of the two books under review.

Whilst I can agree that being 'of the culture' that you are studying offers a unique and valuable insight into the discourses of the culture in question, curiously Discourses of the Developing World asserts: "First of all, all three authors live and research respectively in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and more particularly, in the major countries of these continents" (2016: 6).

It is unclear what living in the 'major countries' of the continents in question contributes to culturally specific discourse studies. Surely living in, for example, China, contributes to the understanding of Chinese discourses; but of all Asian discourses? Shi-xu does in fact state that there is internal diversity and complexity within Chinese, Indian and Japanese discourses (2016: 6) but then goes on to refer to very few non-Chinese discourses. In an ideological paradigm discussing 'Asian Discourse' more focus on a variety of Asian discourses and not simply Chinese ones should be expected. The chapter entitled 'Asian Discourses' references several examples of Chinese philosophy, and discusses in some detail how Chinese discourses are misunderstood or mistreated by Western discourse analysts, however it mentions very few non-Chinese Asian discourses. Unfortunately a similar assertion to the above is made just a page after the previous

extract:

> ...one or two in-depth case studies are rendered of one or a few major countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America apiece as a way to represent not only a broad, continent-orientated, empirical category of culture or cultural community, say, Asia, but also development discourse as a whole. It is our belief that cases of major developing countries can serve as important indicators. (2016: 7)

It would be useful here to indicate what makes a 'major country': size, population, economy, cultural history, military power, political clout? Whilst China may be described as a 'developing country', there are plenty of other countries in Asia that could be similarly described; in addition, the issues inherent in the very term 'developing country' are beyond the scope of this review article, and would constitute a paper or book in their own right.

The same questions can be asked in relation to Argentina in the book's third section, on Latin American discourses

3 Culture specific discourse studies

Shi-xu (2014) describes 'Cultural Discourse Studies (CDS)' as a paradigm in its formative phase, a work in progress. The purpose of CDS is to ground discourse analysis in an academic environment that is aware "of the cultural and historical rootedness of our discourse scholarship, hence its possible bias, limitations and consequences" (2014: 34). Shi-xu presents CDS as a solution to the issues in general Western discourse as he sees them. Shi-xu intends that CDS can be used in a variety of settings, perhaps even Western settings, however he explicitly states that it should be used in Asian, African and Latin American settings with the intent of transforming the "current knowledge/power inequality" (2014: 34).

Interestingly, Shi-xu regularly and quite purposefully groups Asia, Africa and Latin America into one area of discourse – i.e. the 'non-West.' I find Shi-xu's intent in doing this quite curious. Understandably, he is presenting an alternative paradigm to the dominant Western methodologies in place, however it seems somewhat counterproductive to, on the one hand, suggest that we need to be culturally specific, and on the other, refer to a monolithic West and a disenfranchised East that includes East Asia, Africa, and Latin America. *Discourses of the Developing World* (2016) however separates Asia, Africa and Latin America into their own areas of discourse although it does point to commonalities found in the cultural experience of each of these regions.

Shi-xu (2014) makes a rather curious comment regarding what 'Eastern Discourses' (Asia, Africa, Latin America) have in common:

> First and most obviously, the majority of Asian, African and Latin American peoples do not speak English or other European languages as their mother tongue in their daily life; as a legacy and result of superimposed colonialism, they feel the European languages to be foreign and inadequate for their needs but at the same time their own native languages discriminated against at a national and international level... (2014: 45)

This is factually incorrect. Ethnologue reports that 93% of Argentinians, for instance, speak Spanish as their first language. Nigeria has 53.4% of the population with English as a first language. This is one of many examples regarding 'Eastern Discourses' that seem like a forced attempt to group three entire continents under one heading of discursive practice. So too when Shi-xu (2014: 46) describes the "holistic and harmony-orientated" world views of both Asia and Africa. He cites a couple of examples from Chinese philosophy and just one from 'African' (in this case Zulu) philosophy. If it is the case that Africa and Asia can be so neatly and succinctly combined, one would like to see many more tangible, real-life examples presented in Shi-xu's chapter on 'Eastern Discourse Studies.'

Part II of *Discourses of the Developing World* (2016) addresses discourse studies in an African setting. Kwesi Kwaa Prah's stance on language in Africa is clearly laid out, with a well organized discussion of medium of instruction issues in Africa (native or non-native, European language) and internal and external factors than hinder the development of Africa's indigenous languages - and, as an effect, the development of Africa:

> The challenge we are faced with regards to [*sic*] the development of African languages as languages of science and technology is at the same time the challenge of African emancipation and progress. (2016: 84)

The section on medium of instruction issues in Africa is perhaps the highlight of the entire volume, in that its arguments are presented in a thoughtful and logical manner, and Kwesi Kwaa Prah additionally resists making any claims that cannot be backed up.

Part III of *Discourses of the Developing World* discusses discourse analysis work in a Latin American setting, specifically in Argentina. Pardo primarily deals with the cultural changes that have been brought about in Argentina with the clash of modernist and post-modernist realities (2016: 127). She describes Argentina's modern period as beginning in around 1880 and lasting until around 1945, when postmodernity begins. She equates postmodernity with the concept of nihilism (2016: 127). The second chapter of this section, dealing with the Falkland/Malvinas Islands dispute, employs a particularly novel approach to its discourse analysis – using a corpus analysis of transcriptions of four television programmes and conducts a linguistic analysis based on Information Hierarchy Theory[1] (2016: 141). Pardo explores the commonalities and divergences found in the discourse of the four television programmes and concludes rather convincingly that, in the case of Argentina, bridging the gap between modernity and post-modernity is a process that is as of yet incomplete (2016: 150).

Prah and Pardo do not attach a specific name to their discourse approaches, nor indeed do they state whether their approach is meant to align with all that has preceded it Shi-xu uses several acronyms to name his discourse approaches –ADS, CDS, CNDS, EDS. These acronyms often describe roughly the same thing, and for the sake of coherence, it would be easier for readers if Shi-xu decided on one name for the approach in question. The difference between ADS (Asian Discourse Studies) and EDS (Eastern Discourse Studies) as used in the two books is unclear, for instance.

Shi-xu's *Chinese Discourse Studies* (2014) is a sometimes startling exploration of the issues inherent in current discourse practices and the foundational work of a new, China-centered kind

[1] Rowley (2007) offers a discussion of the use of Information Hierarchy Theory, also known as data-information-knowledge-wisdom (DIKW) hierarchy

of discourse analysis. One hopes that, in the future, Shi-xu will provide further examples of how the Chinese, as a people, communicate so differently from those in the West, and how, Confucian, Buddhist and Eastern philosophies influence daily communication to the extent Shi-xu proposes. Some sections of the book read rather confusingly, particularly the repeated references to the concept of 'harmony' inherent in Chinese communication –but then, as the book advises, perhaps this confusion simply reflects my Western bias?

For discourse analysts, and for China analysts, this book is certainly of interest. Whether or not Shi-xu's ambitious programme will revolutionize the way in which discourse analysis is carried out remains to be seen, but it will force discourse analysts to question their own beliefs. *Discourses of the Developing World* (2016) discusses similar themes to Chinese Discourse Studies, with Shi-xu's section of the book naturally reading similarly to it. The other two sections of the book, on African and Latin American discourses, offer much insight into issues that currently require further investigation and indeed offers convincing arguments that Western discourse practices have so far failed to properly tackle these discursive issues. Both Chinese Discourse Studies (2014) and Discourses of the Developing World (2016) take a first step towards offering an insight into discourse studies carried out in non-Western settings and could potentially lead to the development of further discourse analysis work being carried out in these settings.

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Concluding Thoughts

1 Summarized Article Conclusions

The three papers included in this thesis aim to shed some light on the contemporary, ideological position of Putonghua in Hong Kong society. Each paper includes its own concluding section. This brief section summarizes and synthesizes the conclusions from each paper and explains how each paper collaboratively informs us of the current position of Putonghua within Hong Kong society.

1.0.1 'Chinese' in Hong Kong's Basic Law

The first paper in this thesis explored the use of the word 'Chinese' in Hong Kong's Basic Law, Article 9. The purpose of this paper was to examine if the word 'Chinese' is suitable in the context of Hong Kong's Basic Law and to determine what this word refers to within Article 9 and what effect the use of this word might have on the recognition of Hong Kong's linguistic reality - a reality wherein the overwhelming majority of the population identify as L1 speakers of Cantonese. Through analysis of Article 9 and supporting documents, it was found that the use of the word 'Chinese' is entirely inappropriate in the case of Hong Kong's Basic Law as it suggests that the region uses only two languages within society and places an indeterminate 'Chinese' on par with 'English'. My study made, perhaps the somewhat radical suggestion, that Hong Kong's Basic Law should be amended to specifically name the language varieties that are to be considered official in Hong Kong and should *specifically* name Cantonese, Putonghua and English as the official languages of the region. As Putonghua is an emerging language of importance in Hong Kong and it is oft suggested in other official sources, particularly the *biliterate and trilingual* policy, that Putonghua should be promoted in Hong Kong, Hong Kong's Basic Law should reflect the importance that the Hong Kong Legislative Council have placed on Putonghua within the region. Likewise, to protect the status of the first language of the people of Hong Kong, it is natural that Cantonese too should be listed as an official language in the region. This is particularly important due to the popular perception that Cantonese is being undermined by the Hong Kong Legislative Council and that efforts are being made to 'replace' Cantonese with Putonghua. English should be listed, primarily for practical reasons, as the common language of international trade and business in Hong Kong and a language considered economically important by the Hong Kong population.

It was found that by using the term 'Chinese' to refer to an unknown and guessable at best Chinese language variety (or varieties), both Putonghua and Cantonese are undermined in Hong Kong Basic Law. The reasons for using the term can be conjectured at - it's a convenient term, it allows a flexible interpretation of what 'Chinese' means in Hong Kong, it includes both the written and spoken varieties, etc. However, as Article 9 is to be considered Hong Kong's declaration of its official languages, we should not need to make conjectures as to the meaning of Article 9, nor should the people of Hong Kong.

1.0.2 Putonghua in Hong Kong's Job Market

The second paper in this thesis looked at how Putonghua is positioned in job advertisements in Hong Kong and assessed whether Putonghua is essential for employment in Hong Kong, or whether Putonghua does not yet possess this status within the domain of employment. Corpus analysis of the collected job advertisements demonstrated that whilst Putonghua is visible in job advertisements, compared to English and 'Chinese' (Cantonese), it is less frequently referenced and when it is referenced, it is less likely to be listed as a prerequisite for employment. The position of Putonghua within the domain of employment in Hong Kong is complex. Whilst its worth as a language of socioeconomic value has increased exponentially as the economy of the PRC has expanded, it is at conflict with Cantonese, the language of the Hong Kong identity, for some within society. It is important to note that the first paper in this thesis can only make definitive claims regarding the contents of the corpus itself; however, inferences with regards to the status of Putonghua within Hong Kong's employment sector can be made based on the analysis of the collected job advertisements. The statistical analysis of collocation between the words 'Putonghua' and various descriptors expressing language ability demonstrate that within *this* corpus, ability in Putonghua is less likely to be described as a prerequisite for employment but rather, as an advantage. It would be desirable to repeat this corpus analysis in the future to see if the same results can be replicated, or, if the position of Putonghua might have shifted somewhat. It would also be interesting to broaden the scope of the corpus and include job advertisements from other sources, such as newspapers, and particularly, include a greater deal of job advertisements written in Chinese.

1.0.3 Putonghua within the Hong Kong Curriculum

The third and final research paper included in this thesis looked at how the position of Putonghua has evolved within the Hong Kong curriculum and specifically, how attempts have been made to link Putonghua with a 'pan-Chinese' (*Han Chinese*) identity. This paper demonstrated that there is importance placed on Putonghua within the Hong Kong curriculum; however, it is still allocated a relatively short amount of time within the curriculum compared to instruction in English and in Cantonese. It was suggested at a meeting of the Hong Kong Legislative Council in April 2015, that a link could be made between Putonghua and the 'Han nationality' and that this link could be exploited to promote the proliferation of Putonghua within the region. My study found that this link between Putonghua and the 'Han nationality' is spurious - the 'Han nationality' have seldom, if ever, shared one common language, even within the People's Republic of China, despite official governmental attempts. The idea that the 'Han nationality' share a common language is particularly baffling with regards to Hong Kong, a region wherein the common language is most certainly not Putonghua. There is currently a disconnect in Hong Kong with regards to official importance placed on Putonghua within the curriculum and a reluctance to increase time spent on it - a great deal of curriculum time is already spent on 'Chinese Language' (spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese) and English and it seems that there is currently little time for Putonghua. Should more time be allocated to Putonghua within Hong Kong's curriculum, this would likely be at the expense of Cantonese, thus reducing the amount of instruction that pupils would receive in their L1. At present therefore, we can say that there is an impasse with regards to the position of Putonghua within

the curriculum - it is important, certainly, but its importance does not currently outweigh that of Cantonese nor English, and really, should it?

1.0.4 Methodological Considerations

The fourth paper included in this thesis is a review article of two books published in 2014 and 2016 respectively. This paper differs in that it is not an original research paper and rather looks at the work of previous authors. This paper has been included as it explains why, with regards to this thesis's methodological considerations, Shi-Xu's et al.'s *cultural approach* to critical discourse analysis was not used in papers one and three of this thesis.

The below section synthesizes the conclusions of the three research papers and discusses how they collaboratively shed some light on the position of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong.

2 A Synthesized Conclusion

The three research papers included in this thesis collaboratively discuss the ideological position of Putonghua in Hong Kong society. Each paper has targeted a specific *domain of language use* in Hong Kong, these are:

- Government
- Employment
- Education

Each paper considers how Putonghua is treated within each domain through the use of a novel and tailored investigative approach.

2.0.1 The Governmental Domain

The first paper asks whether Hong Kong's official language policy, reflected in Basic Law, Article 9, currently affords status to the languages used in Hong Kong society and specifically, what the 'Chinese' that Hong Kong's Basic Law lists as an official language refers to. This paper showed that due to the vague definition of 'Chinese', neither Putonghua nor Cantonese are currently fully recognized as official languages in Hong Kong and rather, the Hong Kong Legislative Council prefer this vague term in order to avoid offending proponents of the proliferation of Putonghua or proponents of the solidification of Cantonese as the 'official variety' of 'Chinese' in Hong Kong. We can conclude that despite the rhetoric that comes from the Hong Kong Legislative Council, that suggests a strong support for the proliferation of Putonghua in the region, that Putonghua, like Cantonese, is not any more or less 'official' in Hong Kong.

2.0.2 The Employment Domain

The second paper concluded that Putonghua, according to corpus analysis, is currently not considered an absolute prerequisite for employment in Hong Kong and whilst it is referred to frequently in the collected job advertisements, it is referred to less frequently than Hong Kong's two other primary languages - Cantonese and English. We can therefore conclude that it is

likely that, within the domain of employment, Putonghua does not yet possess the same status as Cantonese or English.

2.0.3 The Educational Domain

Finally, the third paper examined the position of Putonghua within Hong Kong's curriculum and found that despite attempts made by the Hong Kong Legislative Council to popularize Putonghua within the Hong Kong curriculum, most recently on the basis of national identity / ethnicity, Putonghua remains very much a third linguistic concern within the curriculum behind 'Chinese' (spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese) and English. There is thus a disconnect between official rhetoric that supports the proliferation of Putonghua within the Hong Kong curriculum, and a curriculum that already focuses a great deal of its time on language acquisition and thus has little additional time to spare for Putonghua

2.1 The Position of Putonghua in Contemporary Hong Kong

Based on the findings of the three research papers, we can therefore summarize that Putonghua's position in Hong Kong is currently provisional. It is not yet fully solidified as a language of Hong Kong society as it is not fully recognized as a language *of* Hong Kong. It is the L1 of little of the population and it is not used above or beyond Cantonese or English in any of the three domains discussed.

As Hong Kong moves closer to 2047 and its current status as a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China may change, debates on language use and identity in the region are likely to intensify. With the 2012 protests over proposed educational reform that would introduce so-called 'Moral and National Education', widely seen as propaganda, and the 2014 mass protests, often called the Umbrella Revolution or Umbrella Movement, debate and protest are likely to remain key characteristics of life in Hong Kong.

When Hong Kong's Education Bureau announced in 2014 that Cantonese was *not* a language, the public reacted with outrage and forced a retraction from the Education Bureau, demonstrating the Hong Kong population's close identification with Cantonese as their 'mother tongue'. The Education Bureau again came under fire in 2018 when it uploaded a set of documents that once again described Cantonese not only as *not* a language but not even a 'mother tongue'. Indeed, the debate surrounding what constitutes a language in Hong Kong is unlikely to end anytime soon and it is likely that Putonghua will continue to be viewed as a threat to Cantonese in Hong Kong.

Whilst this thesis has concluded that Putonghua is not yet an inherent feature of the Hong Kong identity, nor is it afforded a status in Hong Kong above that of English and Cantonese, this is by no means guaranteed to remain unchanged. As has been shown in this thesis, with the flexibility of interpretation of Hong Kong Basic Law, Article 9 and attempts by the Education Bureau to enforce Putonghua as the language of education, there is the possibility that the Hong Kong Legislative Council will eventually be successful in their proliferation of Putonghua in Hong Kong, particularly as Putonghua grows an international language and Hong Kong moves closer to a possible full reunification with the mainland.

2.2 Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis has provided a contribution to knowledge in the following areas:

1. A thorough investigation into the wording of Hong Kong Basic Law, Article 9. Such an investigation is lacking within the currently available literature and furthermore, a concise and practical alternative to the wording of Article 9 has yet to be proposed. It may be the case that proposing such a revision is politically foolish or unrealistic, however it was felt that discussing the problem, without suggesting a solution, would go against the methodological aims of CDA, the methodological approach used in the first paper included in this thesis.

2. An entirely original and independently created corpus of language as seen in job advertisements in Hong Kong. This corpus was used for a specific purpose in the second paper in this thesis. Its uses, however, are not limited solely to this paper and it may be used again by myself, or by other researchers, for further research.

3. An analysis of policy documents not yet analysed by other researchers. My third paper considers the importance of the Legislative Council Panel on Education's *Using Putonghua as the Medium of Instruction for Teaching the Chinese Language Subject in Primary and Secondary Schools in Hong Kong*, published in 2015. Whilst writing my thesis, this represented the most up-to-date view with regards to the Hong Kong Legislative Council's position on using Putonghua as a medium of instruction in Hong Kong.

3 Future Research Directions

Based on the work carried out across the three papers included in this thesis, though each paper has gone some way towards dissecting the ideological position of Putonghua in contemporary Hong Kong society, there is still much that requires further investigation.

With regards to the investigative aims of the first research paper, whether or not Hong Kong's Basic Law will ever be amended to reflect the languages used in Hong Kong society is debatable - it is perhaps more favorable for the government to leave Article 9 as it is, purposefully vague but not particularly offensive. It would be interesting and indeed desirable to survey the Hong Kong population on what 'Chinese' means to them - if 'Chinese' includes both Cantonese and Putonghua, or as documents published by the Hong Kong Legislative Council suggest, Chinese means spoken Cantonese and written Modern Standard Chinese in Hong Kong. It will additionally be interesting to keep track of the way in which 'Chinese' is referred to in documentation published by the Hong Kong Legislative Council and if the definition of 'Chinese' in Hong Kong changes over the coming years.

Building on the work carried out in the second paper, it would be desirable to investigate further the position of Putonghua within the domain of employment in Hong Kong. Specifically, the employment sectors discussed briefly in the second paper (Finance, Education, Retail, etc.) and the position that Putonghua is afforded in each of these specific sectors of employment. This could be achieved with a replication of the corpus study carried out in the second paper included in this thesis, with up-to-date and sector specific job advertisements. Furthermore, an

ethnographic investigation into the use of Putonghua *within* the workplace would allow more specific data regarding exactly *how* Putonghua is used within this domain to be revealed.

Finally, the third research paper looked at how Putonghua is treated within the Hong Kong curriculum and how the Hong Kong Legislative Council had discussed using Putonghua as a common language of the 'Han nationality' to encourage the use of Putonghua as a medium of instruction within Hong Kong schools. Putonghua is currently taught as an independent subject in Hong Kong schools but it is possible that its use as a medium of instruction for other subjects will increase in the coming years. It would be desirable to return to the aims of the third research paper in a couple of years to investigate whether or not the use of Putonghua within the Hong Kong curriculum has increased and indeed, if ethno-nationalism was used as a justifying factor in pushing forward the proliferation of Putonghua within both Hong Kong's curriculum and Hong Kong society in general. It would additionally be interesting to conduct some form of participant informed investigation on-site in Hong Kong schools to observe the teaching of Putonghua and how classroom teachers may or may not instrumentalize Putonghua to promote a 'pan-Chinese' identity.

In summary, as Hong Kong's sociolinguistic situation has been in a constant state of flux for over a century, constant investigation into the region's ideological position surrounding the three primary languages that it uses is necessary. This thesis has investigated the position of Putonghua within Hong Kong society; however, this position is not settled and is likely to evolve and manifest itself in different ways over the coming years. Keeping track of the development of the ideological position of Putonghua in Hong Kong is a complex task, one that will no doubt keep me occupied over the coming years.

Appendix 1 - List of Chinese Terms

Traditional Characters	Simplified Characters	Hanyu Pinyin	Jyutping	English
中國	中国	zhōngguó	zung1gwok3	China
白話	白话	báihuà	baak6waa6	Vernacular
文言文	文言文	wényánwén	man4jin4man4	Classical Chinese
兩文三語	两文三语	liǎng wén sān yǔ	loeng5 man4 saam1 jyu5	Two written languages, three spoken languages
廣東話	广东话	guǎngdōnghuà	gwong2 dung1 waa6	Cantonese
客家話	客家话	kèjiāhuà	haak3gaa1waa6	Hakka
粵語	粤语	yuèyǔ	jyut6jyu5	Yue Language(s) Cantonese
中文	中文	zhōngwén	zung1man4	Chinese (language)
英語	英语	yīngyǔ	jing1jyu5	English (language)
普通話	普通话	pǔtōnghuà	pou2tung1waa6	Putonghua
方言	方言	fāngyán	fong1jin4	Dialect
講華語運動	讲话语运动	jiǎng huáyǔ yùndòng	gong2 waa4jyu5 wan6dung6	Speak Mandarin Campaign (Singapore)
國語推行委員會	国语推行委员会	guóyǔ tuxíng wiyuánhuì	gwok3jyu5 teoi1hang4 wai2jyun4wui6	Mandarin Promotion Council (Taiwan)
漢族	汉族	hàn zú	hon3 zuk6	Han ethnicity
漢人	汉人	hànrén	hon3jan4	Han person
漢語	汉语	hànyǔ	hon3jyu5	Han language (Chinese)
漢語拼音	汉语拼音	hànyǔ pīnyīn	hon3jyu5 ping3jam1	Hanyu Pinyin
注音符號	注音符号	zhùyīn fúhào	zyu3jam1 fu4hou6	Zhuyin Fuhao (Bopomofo)
粵拼	粤拼	yuèpīn	jyut6ping3	Jyutping

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